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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Toward the Peace

AS the National Municipal League observes the 50th anniversary of its founding, the civilized world is becoming more certain of victory over the forces which sought to enslave us.

Though victory seems certain, it is not yet near. Great tasks lie ahead of us. We cannot let down for a moment, either now or later. This time we must win the peace and we must win it in the larger sense. Only by finding a common basis of world citizenship and by accepting far-reaching and progressive social change can we hope to secure the economic and social security which will make any peace real and lasting.

We must have faith in ourselves, in our institutions and in our abilities to adapt our way of life to the needs of today and to the challenge of tomorrow. We must make democracy work. That is the price of responsible citizenship in our country and in the world. Every citizen and every nation must accept the full responsibilities of freedom.

One of the earliest evidences of civilization was the establishment of the town and the city. It marked man's first effort to live on common ground and to stabilize that living. Some of our simplest but most important concepts have grown out of that experience. Much has been added to family life because of community life—neighborliness, common schooling, the town hall, the church—these and other simple, homely institutions

we have come to accept so completely that we are hardly aware of the effort and the slow evolution that created them.

As small communities grew into municipalities and society advanced in its concepts of justice and service, we find a growing sense of protection accorded the citizen because we came to realize the greater worth of human life, and so we set up our courts and lighted and policed our streets and organized our water systems and our fire departments. We established boards of health. We set up schools to give the child a chance.

In doing all this, we enlarged and complicated the problem of administration and control. But we learned to improve our techniques and to make local government responsible to the people.

It is significant that impressive progress has come during the lifetime of the League. We are grateful, as an organization, that we have been able to be helpful in bringing improvement to these techniques and in making the citizen's control over them more certain.

In the postwar world, in the true winning of the peace, the municipalities will be the chief centers of activity and change. In them the League will find new and greater opportunities for service.

JOHN G. WINANT, President,
National Municipal League, and
Ambassador to Great Britain

The League and the Future

The responsibilities and opportunities of the League have not diminished; they are greater now than they ever have been in the course of the past 50 years.

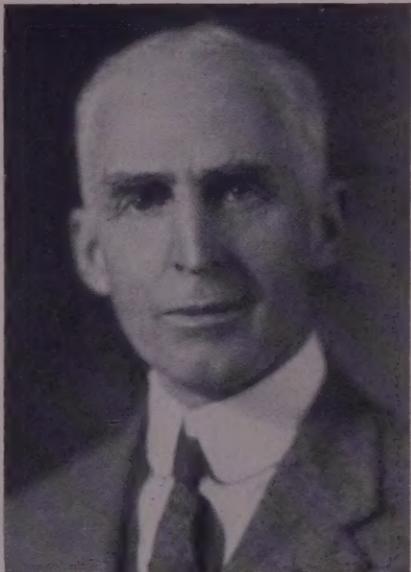
By CHARLES A. BEARD

MORE than a hundred years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville, the distinguished French observer, made a survey of American civilization and political institutions. The results of his work he summarized in his *Democracy in America*, which is still the most discerning treatise on American society ever written by a foreigner. Indeed, it may be said with justice that nothing comparable to it has come from the pen of a native American.

Among the characteristics of American society which made a deep impression on Tocqueville, even back in the days of Andrew Jackson, was the number and variety of associations formed for political, moral, commercial and other purposes. To him it seemed that there was no object attainable to the human will which Americans despaired of achieving through the formation of associations and the conduct of associational activities.

In the course of American history since Tocqueville's time the strength of this propensity in American character has been even more amply demonstrated. It is among the best guarantees that we have for the future of civilization, constitutional government and civil liberty in the United States. When all associations of citizens have been *gleichgeshaltet* what remains save the totalitarian state?

Near the close of the nineteenth



century, to be precise in January 1894, the associational spirit, so long evident in American society, found expression in the formation of the National Municipal League, "composed of associations formed in American cities for the improvement of municipal government." The call for the first meeting was sponsored by many eminent leaders of the time, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Carl Schurz, Charles W. Eliot, Richard T. Ely and Charles J. Bonaparte.

But among the rank and file of men and women who carried the main burden of the work done by the League were innumerable persons whose names seldom if ever appear in written histories of the age and are utterly unknown to their benefiari-

ies. This anonymity is also a characteristic of most associational activities. Those who labor and bear burdens find their rewards in good work conscientiously done, not in the prestige and emoluments sought by the ambitious.

The League was founded in stirring times. The country was then in the midst of a periodic depression. Strikes and unrest were abroad in the land. By leaps and bounds cities had been growing in population, wealth, poverty, slums and degradation. During the preceding years scandals and frauds in national, state and local government had been unearthed in shocking forms. At that very hour Brooks Adams was working on *The Law of Civilization and Decay* which was to warn Americans of deep perils close at hand. James Russell Lowell had wondered whether the Republic could weather the storms. Even Walt Whitman had been haunted by disturbing doubts about the success of the democracy to which he had paid such lavish tributes in line and verse.

Groping for a Program

Like many associations the League at first had no very comprehensive program of action. Perhaps the leading idea of the men who sponsored it was the belief that good government could be achieved if good men were elected to places of power in municipal government. Although they were often sneered at as "goobos" or "men-milliners," there was something in the idea that decency in legislators and administrators is necessary to decency in government, whatever its particular form. But

others among the sponsors, Richard T. Ely, for example, knew very well that mere honesty was not enough, that the exposure of corruption was not enough, that many sources of municipal ills lay deep in the social and economic conditions of the great cities. Yet it was characteristic of American life that men and women of widely differing social philosophies could work together in a common cause, helping it without stopping their other work or surrendering their personal convictions. So the National Municipal League set out bravely and flourished.

Broadly speaking, its development has fallen into three stages. At first it served as a kind of clearing house for information on municipal government and activities and as a point of contact for thousands of men and women in all parts of the country who were laboring to improve conditions in their own communities. At the annual conferences of the League papers on various phases of municipal government were read and discussed and the annual volumes of the "National Conference on Good City Government" provided students and citizens with invaluable materials on the science and art of municipal administration. Unrecorded and yet of immeasurable influence were the exchanges of ideas and experiences among members of the League during the two or three days of the annual sessions.

Students who pore over the aging records of the League may find them rather thin in many places and lacking in wide discernment, as compared with the wealth and critical excellence of materials at

the command of citizens and practitioners today. But it is well to remember that in 1894 no great works on municipal government in the United States were available. There were some books on municipal law and minor treatises on aspects of city government. Yet knowledge of municipal affairs was scanty and fragmentary in those days—a booklet here and there, stray articles in newspapers and magazines, numerous special pamphlets.

One only has to compare a bibliography of 1894 with a bibliography of 1944 to discover how densely ignorant we were 50 years ago in trying to deal with the uprushing Leviathans—American cities. I am painfully aware of the fact for it was about 1895 that I began my long searches into the history and nature of American government, and I know from experience that the publications of the League, meager and limited as they were, served as a kind of godsend to students. I know also that the secretary of the League, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, long served as an unfailing aid to students and citizens in quest of current information on municipal affairs in widely scattered cities. If he had clippings at hand he would send them to us. If nothing printed was available to him he wrote fully out of his own knowledge won by study and by contacts with key persons in various parts of the country.

The Second Stage

What may be called for convenience the second stage in the development of the League began in 1912 when a quarterly journal, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, was

substituted for the annual volume containing papers presented at the annual conference. Clinton Rogers Woodruff acted as editor and Charles A. Beard, John A. Fairlie, Adelaide R. Hasse, John A. Lapp and Arthur Crosby Ludington as associate editors. Two general ideas controlled this undertaking.

The first was to reach a wider audience and maintain a more continuous discussion of municipal concerns than was possible by the publication of a bulky volume of proceedings each year. The conferences were continued as before, the annual proceedings were reported and selected papers were published; but it was the design of the editors to make a quarterly report on all phases of municipal progress in all parts of the country and, indeed, in other parts of the world.

The second idea which the editors had in mind was to give extended consideration to municipal functions as well as to the machinery of city government. The opening page of the first number of the REVIEW announced the new emphasis in the following words: "Believing, with George Bernard Shaw, that 'man lives not by tramway statistics alone,' neither by political machinery alone, the editors will accord full treatment to municipal functions and welfare enterprises, as well as to ballot laws, charters, and bureaus of municipal research."

Besides publishing leading articles on various aspects of municipal government, the editors established four regular departments: municipal reports, current municipal legislation, events and personalia in city affairs

and book reviews. From time to time sections were added on special municipal documents.

The following selected heads from early numbers of the new REVIEW indicate the range of its interest: administration in general, bakeshop inspection, billboards, budgets, building construction, charters and ordinances, child welfare, city planning, civil service, courts, debt, employment bureaus, excess condemnation, finance, fire service, food and drug regulations, hospitals, housing, insurance, labor conditions, libraries, light and power plants, markets, milk supply, municipal accounting, lodging houses, municipal theaters, museums and art galleries, parks, pensions, playgrounds, police, poor, port development, public baths, public charities, public health, public works, refuse disposal, sanitation, school hygiene, schools, sewerage, street railways, streets, taxation, traffic regulation, water supply.

Dull? Yes, to the dull mind incapable of seeing the human interests involved in all the activities reviewed. *Old Stuff?* Yes, to the bright youth of our day with vast libraries of classified materials now at their disposal. *Significant?* Yes, for the struggle of American democracy to transform cities into dwelling and working places worthy of civilized human beings.

In this way the National Municipal League sought to make available to citizens and officials in all parts of the country indices to and news of achievements in the most progressive and enlightened communities—to inform as well as inspire citizens and officials in their uphill battles.

While the League was moving forward in this second stage of its development, interest was growing in municipal affairs and finding expression in the formation of new organizations for the promotion of special activities. At length an almost bewildering variety of associations had sprung up. Some were in close affiliation with the League. Others were pursuing an independent course. Before many years had passed there was scarcely a phase of municipal government and economy that was unrepresented by a society for municipal improvement. Citizens and officials had drawn together in associations to advance every kind of civic undertaking from charter-making to accounting, from housing to city planning. The literature of city affairs had grown so large and so technical that no person could hope to master it all. This was in short an age of intense specialization.

The Third Stage

More or less in relation to that turn in affairs, and particularly under the leadership of Richard S. Childs, the National Municipal League entered upon the third stage of its career. Its headquarters were moved to New York City. The quarterly REVIEW was changed into a monthly REVIEW. Emphasis was laid again upon the machinery of city government and campaigns were launched to promote the adoption of the city manager form of government. The REVIEW no longer attempted to cover all the functions and services of city government. Model charters and other documents pertaining to government, administration and civil service were published; a consultant

service was established to furnish cities, officials and civic organizations with expert guidance in dealing with special problems of municipal life; at the central office of the League an agency was set up to give advice to citizens interested in organizing or promoting the work of local associations, to local societies and committees engaged in remodelling governments or creating and administering particular services, and to public officials desirous of having the light of experience in other cities thrown upon their own questions and difficulties. In other words, the League continued and expanded its function as a clearing house for collecting and distributing information on the arts, sciences and methods of municipal improvement.

Although programs for municipal government sponsored by the League have been put into effect in hundreds of cities large and small, from one end of the country to the other, and many of the aims which were mere dreams 50 years ago have been realized, the responsibilities and opportunities of the League as a general organization have by no means diminished. On the contrary they are greater now than they ever have been in the course of the past 50 years. The growth of highly specialized associations has relieved it of many technical burdens. Innumerable associations dealing with administration in general and in detail can supply officials and citizens with information and guidance in respect of such matters as finance, accounts, public works, public housing and public health.

All such progress in municipal sci-

ence has been to the good. But innumerable problems of municipal government that are general in nature yet remain untouched by this specialization. In fact the number and complexity of these issues have been increased in recent years.

New Problems

In the long course of the League's history, the position and functions of the city in American society have actually undergone a revolution. It is no longer a question of an autonomous municipality well governed within its borders. While the city has been gaining more home rule in respect to its form of government and many of its functions, its relations to state government have multiplied in many directions—financial, legal and operational, for instance. Furthermore new connections with the federal government and its numerous agencies have been established. Some of these connections are through the state government, others are direct. Was it not the federal government that came to the aid of cities during the great depression when they were threatened with bankruptcy? Federal legislation and administration in respect of taxation, housing and social security impinge immediately on the powers and activities of cities. It takes whole volumes now to tell the story of this alteration in the issues and duties of city governments throughout the United States.

It is no longer enough to consider municipal affairs mainly in terms of home rule, model charters and autonomous forms of government. Instead of easing the strain of thought about municipal government, the in-

tense specialization of recent years has intensified it, has raised a new issue. Who is to do the general thinking about municipal government that encompasses all the disparate specialties, that gives unity to them, that considers the city as a self-governing body of citizens in its new relations to the state government and the federal government? What organization is best fitted by its history and experience to take leadership in fostering this kind of thinking and searching, in bringing together persons and associations concerned in it, and in putting the results of the work in general circulation?

America has no dearth of technicians—the crying need 50 years ago. Now there are multitudes of men and women who are technicians, and often little if anything more. They are indispensable but not enough. Hitler has had plenty of technicians. But his combination of astrology and technology has not excited the envy of civilized people anywhere. Nor can it be truly called an unmitigated success even for the German people. Certainly this can be correctly deemed an understatement.

The Fourth Stage

Herein lies, as I am given to see things, the opportunity of the National Municipal League to enter upon the fourth stage of its development, by taking leadership in fostering anew the general consideration of the whole art and science of municipal government in relation to state and federal affairs. This would, of course, be no sharp break in its history. It would be indeed a continuation and expansion of the general interest in municipal affairs that

marked its first stage of development, combined with the several interests which were subsequently taken into account, and a new consideration of the whole field in the light of the present setting—as we face the future. If it be said that this is emphasis on theory, my answer is that all practice springs out of some theory, precise or muddled, and that without theory practice is rudderless. Take, for instance, the theory of 1787, namely, that the United States needed a constitution.

In its membership and among its officials the National Municipal League has a body of citizens who, whatever their special concerns, have a general interest in the whole city—its place, role, functions and obligations in American society. No other association in the country is so constituted. No other organization is, in my opinion, so well fitted to look at the city as a whole, in relation to all its responsibilities. None is better prepared to promote the development and diffusion of knowledge pertaining thereto, thereby more effectively equipping American citizens for those indispensable tasks which transcend, while making use of, each and every specialization—tasks which must be assumed if the ideal of the city just, efficient and beautiful is to be more than a shimmering mirage.

Many indefeasible tendencies of the times, I am convinced, mark out for the League this more general opportunity and function in the years ahead. Although the League throughout its existence has laid emphasis on the methods, processes and mechanics of municipal improvement,

leaders in the organization and, no doubt, most of the rank and file, have taken a double view of their work. The techniques of municipal improvement have been regarded as expressions of enlightened civic interest and as instruments for the accomplishment of civic ideals.

At the same time one of the supreme purposes of the League, from the beginning, has been the development of an informed, responsible and active citizenry capable of using such instrumentalities in the public interest. In short the League's model charters, model laws and other standards for guidance in municipal affairs have not been looked upon as ends in themselves but as agencies for the achievement of ends related to the good life in municipalities; to the preparation of citizens for efficient participation in public affairs and for the enjoyment of the activities associated with this participation.

After 50 Years

Immense changes in American life since 1894 have enlarged and increased the responsibilities of governmental and associational agencies in advancing civilization—indeed in safeguarding American society against internal disasters and the perils of international impacts. Concurrently in many respects the education of our people for political and civic duties has made rapid strides.

A personal note may give concreteness to this general statement. On the desk before me lies the only book relative to civic affairs which I studied in high school a few years before the National Municipal League was established. It is *A School History of the United States*

by W. H. Venable. Although it contains several trite references to inventions, literature and the fine arts, it is mainly a record of political contests, wars and presidential administrations. More space is given to the nature of the Indians than to anything that bears on the intimate social life of the newcomers—the American people.

In the last paragraph of my text book I was informed by the hopeful author: "The student who has studied thoughtfully the annals of the past will be better able to judge concerning the significance of present events and tendencies. He will be able to enter into the spirit of the time, and to take an intelligent interest in politics, society, and civilization. He should supplement the knowledge already acquired by reading the important current news of the day. . . .

This land is like an eagle, whose
young gaze
Feeds on the noon tide beam,
whose golden plume
Floats moveless on the storm,
and in the blaze
Of sunrise gleams when earth is
wrapt in gloom. . . ."

When I rode to graduation on an examination in Mr. Venable's history, I could give the dates of all the presidential administrations—and I have no quarrel with that—but I knew no more about my community than the little I picked up at home, play and school, and my knowledge of American government and society as going concerns was fearful and wonderful! Such was my "education" for the fate that befell me in the coming 50 years and for the opportunities taken and missed.

Consider the changes since Mr. Venable illuminated the path for young citizens in those ancient days. Historical instruction has been widened to include social and economic activities, as well as political battles. In their social studies boys and girls are now encouraged to take an interest in their communities and in wider circles, and they are given definite instruction in community associations, functions and services. From the concreteness of community affairs they are led into the study of state and national affairs, more difficult for them to grasp, and their interests are widened to larger horizons.

In the experiences of social practice and of education is to be found one of the prime secrets of such success as Americans have achieved in the discharge of their civic responsibilities. No people can govern themselves on a large scale until they have acquired or developed the capacity to govern themselves on a small scale. From colonial times American society and political institutions have expressed this idea and have been so organized as to permit and encourage self-government in com-

munities. On this basis rest the states and the union of states. And civic education in our schools now seeks to give youth knowledge of this complicated system and to encourage habits of participation.

Thus care for civic education merges in the growing consciousness of the American people that, apart from their individual interests, they are members of this great society and, as citizens, must function in groups—political and private. It is by the conduct of and coordination of such activities that they can keep alive the capacity for self-government and preserve those social decencies and liberties which are to be regarded as the prime values of American civilization.

To success in self-governing activities great bodies of workable knowledge and continuous readjustments in the light of "stubborn and irreducible facts" are indispensable. If this be true, and I believe it is, then the National Municipal League, as it enters upon a new stage in its long course, will face still greater challenges to the civic talents that it can muster.

Rising Tide of Civic Progress

The American people were led by the early "reformers" to a realization that bettering city government was perhaps the most important problem at the close of the 19th century.

By CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF
First Secretary, National Municipal League

IN 1893 there was a civic stirring in the tree tops. There was a recently-formed City Club in New York, a Municipal League in Philadelphia, one in Boston and a considerable interest in other cities; yet the number of these civic groups throughout the entire country did not exceed 50.

A municipal problem of large proportions confronted these early civic leaders. From every hand came the same story—wastefulness, inefficiency, all too frequent scandals and the rule of the least estimable and the least trustworthy.

Why was this so? It was not due solely to the rapid growth of American cities during the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, nor to the increase in number and extent of municipal functions, nor to universal suffrage which gave the large numbers of foreign-born the vote.

A municipal problem existed because a sense of right in favor of municipal efficiency and honesty did not exist. During much of the nineteenth century opportunities in mercantile and manufacturing pursuits were sufficiently broad and undeveloped to absorb the time and attention of all the capable men willing to work in them. Public offices under the spoils system were filled inefficiently by politicians, and the expensiveness and extravagance of municipal corruption and mismanagement

were widespread. Yet for many decades this was not great enough to arouse citizens. Municipal government was secondary to the state and national branches of government, and its policies were likewise.

Some of the most forward-looking of these early civic leaders began to discuss the possibility of holding a national conference of local civic organizations to find ways of furthering local reform. After much correspondence and discussion the Municipal League of Philadelphia, on December 29, 1893, sent out a call for a national conference. It said in part:

"The Municipal League of Phila-



delphia, with the cooperation of the City Club of New York, has decided to issue a call for a National Conference for Good City Government, to be held in Philadelphia on the 25th and 26th of January, 1894.

"The principal objects of the Conference will be to determine, so far as possible by inquiry and debate, the best means for stimulating and increasing the rapidly growing demand for honest and intelligent government in American cities, and to discuss the best methods for combining and organizing the friends of reform so that their united strength may be made effective."

The call was signed by more than one hundred leaders of municipal and civic affairs, principally from Philadelphia and New York, but also from a wide range of other cities.

The League Is Born

Of the Philadelphia Conference the presiding officer, James C. Carter, president of the City Club of New York and at the time the leader of the American Bar, said in his opening remarks:

"No higher distinction could be conferred upon me than to call upon me to preside over an assemblage such as this, composed of delegates from the principal cities, who have assembled together to take counsel concerning the great problems of municipal government and concerning the methods by which that government can be made the best.

"I hail the impulse which has brought us together as the sure evidence of a renewal in our minds of the sense and consciousness of our public duties as citizens.

"It means to me a conviction on our part that while our patriotism should extend to and embrace the remotest parts of our land, yet it should begin and find its principal source of action at home. It means, I think, a conviction that our city governments and the great interests which are confided to them are everywhere subjected to the mismanagement of ignorance, and surrendered to the rapacity of spoil seekers, and this is in large part the consequence of our own apathy. It means, I think, a conviction that if we would have our cities well governed, we must give to them something of the same attention we devote to our homes. It means a conviction that a large part of the evils which beset us in national politics are engendered and aggravated by the corruption of municipal politics, and the time has arrived when we should rescue our city governments and the trusts reposed in them from the domination of those interests which control national politics.

"I hail this movement as indicative of a rising tide of civic patriotism. Let us hope it may swell to a flood which may reach all the cities of our government, and carry with it a beneficent influence."

Out of the Philadelphia meeting grew the National Municipal League, formally organized in New York City in May 1894. It at once entered upon its work, and proceeded to bring together through its affiliated membership the leading municipal reform organizations of the country, through its associate membership the leading students of municipal government, and through its annual con-

ferences both these elements for a mutual exchange of views and a detailed study of the situation.

One of the immediate results was a multiplication of civic organizations. In the North Atlantic group in 1894 there were 27 organizations; in 1895, 79; and in 1896, 121—an increase of 451 per cent in two years. In the South Atlantic states there were two organizations in 1894, both to be found in one city; in 1895 there were thirteen, distributed among three states; and in 1896, seventeen in five states. The Northern Central states in 1894 had fourteen to their credit; in 1895, 54; in 1896, 78. In the Southern Central states in 1894 there was not a single reform body or any organization devoting much time or attention to any phase of the municipal problem. In 1895, however, there were seven, and in 1896, fifteen associations working strenuously for a betterment of civic affairs. In the Western group the one of 1894 grew to the 23 of 1895, and the 36 of 1896.

At the Philadelphia Conference the feeling on the part of students of municipal government and those interested in its improvement was largely one of hopelessness. The papers read at the Philadelphia meeting set forth a condition of affairs sufficient to fill the most stout-hearted with a feeling of dismay.

Nevertheless, the thought was present in the minds of many that a careful study of municipal conditions and a frequent exchange of views would not only clear the atmosphere but also might lead eventually to the adoption of a program of action upon which union for defin-

ite work might be possible. Several of the speeches looked toward this end. Indeed, the proposition was advanced that there should be formed an organization having for its object the study of American municipal conditions as a precedent to the formulation of a "municipal program."

There was a conviction, however, shared quite as much by those who held this view as by those who were doubtful of its wisdom or expediency, that the time was not ripe for the formulation of a municipal program. Sentiment had not crystallized.

A New Era

Four conferences—those held in Minneapolis (1894), Cleveland (1895), Baltimore (1896) and Louisville (1897)—were devoted to a consideration of actual municipal conditions. The papers presented formed an important contribution to the study of municipal government as it actually existed in the United States, and furnished a substantial basis for municipal publicists in their efforts to better American municipal conditions.

In some respects the Louisville conference, the fifth of the series, may be considered the most important held up to that time. In the first place the meeting marked the beginning of a new era in the work of the National Municipal League. There-tofore the meetings had been devoted to a statement of municipal conditions and to a discussion of the lessons which they taught. There had been no attempt to formulate a program for adoption or to construct a platform upon which municipal campaigns should be waged. No such

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The League's Second Stretch

At the end of its first half century the League remains principal custodian of the problems which concern the practical relationships of citizens to their governments.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS

IN 1910 a new pot began to boil—

Progressivism! Where the militant reformers of 1894 had campaigned against the alliance of office-holders with crime, red lights, etc., the Progressives went out against the alliance of politics and special privilege, having as their earliest target in California, for instance, the Southern Pacific Railroad and its political activities. Elsewhere their villains included public utilities in alliance with political machines and the general ascendancy of big business in national and local political affairs.

Progressivism blossomed out with programs. In Oregon, under the leadership of William S. U'ren, it put its faith in the initiative, referendum and recall. Dr. C. F. Taylor, editor of the *Medical World* (still remembered in the Taylor Trust with its subventions to the League) also published *Equity* to support the adoption of these devices which he hoped would cure democracy's ailments. Another effort, sponsored by Lewis Jerome Johnson, professor of engineering at Harvard, extolled the advantages of the preferential ballot. C. G. Hoag, a University of Pennsylvania professor, crusaded for proportional representation and, through the accident of having a few hours spare time in Ashtabula, Ohio, walked into the local Chamber of Commerce, charged their batteries on the subject and secured its first American adoption there.



The commission form of municipal government was speeding swiftly. It had begun wholly by accident. Galveston, Texas, was wrecked by a tidal wave in 1900. Because of the inability of the mayor and council to cope with the crisis, a deep water committee, already in existence, assumed control. The success of this committee's work by reason of the efficiency of its members led the legislature to create a board of five commissioners for the government of Galveston, two appointed by the governor and three elected. Eventually a court declared the emergency had passed and that, if this type of government were to be continued, all the commissioners must be made locally elective. A good commission

was elected and good government continued. Des Moines developed the setup by adding a nonpartisan ballot, the initiative, referendum and recall and a merit system. In this form the commission plan spread ultimately to more than 300 cities without any organized sponsorship and in obvious contradiction of some of the principles of the League's *Model City Charter*.

The effort for woman's suffrage was nearing its pinnacle and many of its promoters assured the world that when the women voted there would be no more political bossism or political corruption.

In New York City R. Fulton Cutting and others started a new adventure, the Bureau of Municipal Research (now the Institute of Public Administration) devoted to problems of administration which were too technical for volunteer citizens' committees or the typical civic organization. It developed techniques with particular emphasis on good budgetary and accounting procedures and ran a school, and its graduates went off to found bureaus in other cities.

Still another wave of revolt devised direct primaries, secured their adoption in place of party conventions in many states and learned in time that Utopia was still afar and that they had only provided to the party members an opportunity to express an opinion when they had no opinion to express.

And, as a New York advertising man five years out of college, unhampered by any practical knowledge of government, I came along with the short ballot idea, and later, the commission-manager plan, with enough

of an organization to provide a letterhead and enough money from a generous father to crusade for my notions with press releases and pamphlets.

The Progressive party embraced all of these doctrines and organized in all the states. In New York State its convention was stampeded by "Suspender Jack" Magee to nominate Oscar Straus, a leading Jewish philanthropist, for governor to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers"!

Altogether a confusing time—the outstanding fact of the period being the avidity with which the public welcomed proposals for revising our institutions of government! It gagged only on recall of judicial decisions!

Caution and Study

In the middle of all this the National Municipal League kept its head and moved cautiously. It studied the commission plan but did not join the endorsers, a forebearance for which it remained everlastingly thankful as the many weaknesses of this form of government became apparent. It welcomed to its conferences the sponsors of the various panaceas but was not stampeded. It waited for evidence, and the *Model City Charter* with its provision for a simple structure, with a strong mayor, remained the embodiment of the League's constructive objectives.

In considering how to press for attention to the short ballot principle, a group headed by Woodrow Wilson which took me in hand in New York considered whether to work through the National Municipal League but was too impatient for unencumbered progress to feel like filtering its efforts through the older

organization and decided to go it alone. Although the National Short Ballot Organization invited members and subscriptions and accumulated a considerable list of annual contributors, it never held conventions or undertook to build an organization competitive with the League. Most of its active spirits, indeed, were League members. It concentrated on pamphlets and press releases and set up local organizations which worked out and sponsored short ballot programs in New York State, Illinois, Ohio and elsewhere.

These efforts to cut off the tail of the state tickets became merged, in constitutional conventions and legislatures, with efforts originating with bureaus of municipal research looking toward better departmental organization of state governments. Governor Lowden's reorganization of Illinois was the first outstanding example. A number of states did shorten their ballots, without calling it that, in the course of administrative reorganizations and the object was achieved by that route with diminished antagonism.

In the municipal field the Short Ballot Organization made itself a lively center of information for charter commissions and citizens' organizations on the commission form of government, since, despite its faults, that form did provide a short ballot. My private pipe-dream for the correction of the major weakness of the commission plan by the addition of a city manager under the commission was written into the draft of a bill permissive to the second or third class cities of New York State, but the draft, when finished by H. S.

Gilbertson, was rejected by the New York Short Ballot Organization directors, leaving me to look elsewhere for a sponsor, which I found presently in the Lockport Board of Trade. A little publicity put this variation of the commission plan¹ on the map very speedily. Sumter, South Carolina, adopted the plan in 1912, and a dozen cities, including Dayton, followed the next year.

In those days the League had only recently dropped its annual publication constituting the proceedings of its conferences in favor of a periodical, the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, which began in 1912 as a quarterly. It was converted in 1917 to a bi-monthly and in 1919 to a monthly publication, with greater opportunity for providing fresh news.

General to Specific

Clinton Rogers Woodruff, the original secretary of the League who had served since 1894, was a master of the art of keeping in personal touch with members by his diligent interest in everything that they were doing in the field, and his immense correspondence was a lively and important factor in the League's vitality. His annual reports of field events were faithful and complete. He rarely advanced opinions or original leadership but was expert in making the members feel they controlled the policy. That proprietary sense over the League and its affairs by great numbers of members from coast to

¹We called it the commission-manager plan at first to take advantage of the vogue for the commission plan and swerve the latter—a tactic which succeeded. The term "council - manager plan" came in later years and is now the accepted name.

coast has been important ever since in the League's life.

To increase the acceptance of the League's program involved adopting publicity methods such as press releases, pamphleteering and helping local organizations to take up the new ideas with the League as the arsenal of information and enthusiasm—a role not altogether congenial to those who wanted the League to be simply a scholarly, dignified, scientific society.

There came a time when the council-manager plan had demonstrated its efficiency in practice—Dayton, especially, having had a remarkable success under its first city manager, Henry M. Waite, one of the most enlightened personalities who have worn the title—and the National Municipal League in 1916 re-wrote its *Model City Charter* to incorporate the city manager principle. This took away one reason for the separate existence of the Short Ballot Organization, and in 1920 it turned over its program to the League.

The same year, when Mr. Woodruff retired, Dr. Harold W. Dodds was made secretary, and the office was transferred to New York City. Charles Evans Hughes became president of the League.

Encouraged by the effectiveness of the *Model City Charter*, the League embarked upon the preparation of additional models. The useful and provocative word "model" was applied to the *Model Election Law*, *Model State Constitution*, *Model Municipal Bond Law*, *Model Budget Law* and others. The efforts of the office to extend acceptance of the concerted wisdom of the League's

eminent committees were thereby fortified with concrete expressions of their findings in pamphlet form that were readily circulated and used. The League's pamphlet library developed rapidly and has continued to be a most useful and flexible feature of the League's work.

An example of this positive method was the array of practical help made available in printed form to local groups undertaking to bring about the adoption of the council-manager plan. The ammunition ranged from a digest of city charters and the services of draftsmen such as A. R. Hatton and Thomas H. Reed for the benefit of official charter revision commissions to newspaper articles, educational pamphlets, lists of speakers throughout the country qualified to discuss local government and advice on methods of campaigning.

Manager Plan Progress

The progress of the council-manager plan is one of the most apt yardsticks of the League's effectiveness—and the one customarily used—for the manager plan embraces in a single bundle virtually all those devices which not only the League but others who know their way about in local affairs recognize as essential to "good government." Thus, instead of having to campaign for a responsible but controlled executive, unification of powers, short ballot, annual budgets, merit system of appointments, the nonpartisan ballot, etc., the voters had but to say, "We want the council-manager plan," and all these things were added unto them. It was, in fact, much easier to secure good local government in one stroke than seriatim, for the very name of this

streamlined form of government had a selling appeal.

Idealists who, like Lincoln, put their faith completely in the ultimate wisdom of the people, could not fail to be impressed also by the fact that campaigns for the adoption of the manager plan almost invariably were accompanied by great revivals of civic spirit and a more general understanding of local government, win or lose. It has been by no means rare for people to say, as the secretary of the Beatrice, Nebraska, Chamber of Commerce did last year after an unsuccessful campaign: "Although the election failed it did stimulate civic thinking more than anything that has happened in a good many years. As a matter of fact, it has improved the government."

The council-manager plan has marched steadily forward with new accessions up to the current 611 cities and counties in the world. The 585 in the United States cover 20 per cent of the country's urban population. There are twenty in Canada, five in Ireland,² and one in Puerto Rico. The reach of the League's program as expressed in the *Model City Charter* is by no means limited to those places which have the manager plan, however, for the principles and even the verbatim language are found everywhere in the basic laws of communities and states, taken directly or from one another.

The best *ex parte* inquiry into the manager plan's operation was made in 1937-39 when the Social Science

Research Council financed a team of three field investigators who visited eighteen cities to acquire the detailed story of their experiences on the ground and arranged for similar studies by other qualified persons in 30 additional places. The evidence and findings fill three bound volumes of highly satisfactory testimony and leave on any objector a crushing burden of proof. Nowhere is there articulate doctrinal opposition to this or most other League remedies.

League's Field Today

The League today has no competitors and faces no opposing doctrines. Its programs, in fact, have been unchallenged for at least 25 years in so far as structure of government is concerned. The field of the League is usually construed to cover any problems of state and local government and civic affairs not handled by special societies. It looked in on housing to some extent but special societies take care of that now. "Administration" has become increasingly technical, a matter for health officers, engineers, city planners and other experts with their own societies and programs. The League formed the Municipal Administration Service dedicated to collecting and re-issuing the findings of the bureaus of municipal research and others on administrative questions. It was cheerfully turned over to the Public Administration Clearing House when that group of societies of public officials was organized with Spelman Fund money in Chicago. As Public Administration Service, it has become a publisher of manuals and studies in administration, serving all the administrative societies, and

²The 26 counties in Eire (Ireland) are also now administered by county managers in accordance with a 1940 act of the Dail.

conducting in addition local surveys and installations of municipal departments. The specialists in problems of administration have formed the American Society for Public Administration and are publishing their own *Public Administration Review*.

Subsequent recognitions show that the League did well in its selection of secretaries.

Dr. Dodds, a young postgraduate in 1920, worked with President Hughes and when Hughes became Secretary of State was sent on special missions by the State Department to install our model election law with appropriate adaptations in Nicaragua and to help General Pershing adjudicate the Tacna-Arica boundary dispute. Later he joined the Princeton faculty, continuing to edit the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW on a part-time basis and then, one pleasant afternoon, a trustee looked in with the unexpected news that he was president of the university. In his term as secretary he fortified the committees that were creating "models" by his own scholarship and thoroughness and enriched our programs.

His successor, Russell Forbes, carried on with successful energy and a good sense of organization and graduated from our service to a task of fabulous difficulty—that of organizing the new office of commissioner of purchase for the City of New York under Mayor LaGuardia, with results that still save the city millions per year.

Howard P. Jones, in the depression years, developed our friendships with bankers who were interested in our *Model Bond Law*, and set up the Consultant Service which made nu-

merous financial and administrative surveys of cities which needed diagnosis and remedy. Jones became a civil service commissioner of New York State and later a deputy state comptroller until he was called into the Army in 1943 to serve as a major in Allied Military Government. At present he is in Europe enjoying important recognition.

At the close of the first half century, during which many other organizations have come and gone, the League remains principal custodian of the problems which concern practical relationships of citizens to their governments, forms of government, election procedures, protection of citizens in their voting rights, procedures of government to facilitate comprehension and control by the citizens and, last but not least, technically-armed idealism for citizens.

Citizenship and Mechanisms

That the League's programs tend to be mechanistic may be admitted. Certainly they are based on scientifically sound action, not on preaching. Correcting the faulty mechanisms of self-government just happens to be our business; for, in seeking more workable forms of democratic government in states, counties and cities and in furnishing fact-ammunition to those in the local front line trenches, the League has demonstrated hundreds of times that this is the high road to effective good citizenship. The difficulties of popular government in America are frequently mechanistic and responsive to mechanistic solutions; our field is the practical application of political

(Continued on page 530)



JAMES C. CARTER
Founder
President, 1894-1903



THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Founder



LOUIS D. BRANDEIS
Member, First Executive
Committee

Milestones of the First 50 Years

By FRANK M. STEWART
University of California at Los Angeles

THE post Civil War era witnessed a tremendous physical growth of cities and expansion of municipal activities. From the standpoint of administration it was a period of disintegration, waste and inefficiency. Political machines and bosses plundered many communities. The period has been justly described as the "Dark Ages" of American municipal history.

With beginnings in the seventies and increased strength in the eighties, the early nineties saw the full flowering of municipal reform groups. The Municipal League of Philadelphia was created in 1891 and the City Club of New York in 1892. These two organizations joined on December 29, 1893, in issuing a call for a conference on city government.

1894-1897. The first National Conference for Good City Government was held in Philadelphia January 25-26, 1894. This Conference authorized appointment of a committee to prepare a plan for the organization of a National Municipal League.

Meeting at the City Club of New York on May 28-29, 1894, delegates from fifteen reform associations completed the organization of the League by the adoption of a constitution and by-laws and the election of officers. James C. Carter of New York was elected president; Clinton Rogers Woodruff of Philadelphia, secretary; R. Fulton Cutting, New York, treasurer; and Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore, chairman of the Executive Committee. Before the end of the year George Burnham, Jr., succeeded Mr. Cutting as treasurer.

Headquarters of the League were established in Philadelphia. National conferences for good city

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is condensed from the author's study, *A Half Century of Municipal Progress—The History of the National Municipal League*, in manuscript form awaiting publication.

government were held at Minneapolis, Cleveland, Baltimore and Louisville within the next three years. Proceedings of these meetings and of the first conference at Philadelphia were edited by Secretary Woodruff and published. Several small pamphlets were also prepared. The League assumed the role of a coordinator of municipal reform efforts.

Most significant outcome of these League conferences was adoption by the Louisville meeting in 1897 of a resolution for the appointment of a committee to prepare a municipal program.

1898-1899. The Committee on Municipal Program, under the chairmanship of Horace E. Deming, New York, made a preliminary report to the League Conference at Indianapolis in 1898 and its final report in 1899 at the Columbus conference.

1900-1903. Proposals of the committee and eleven explanatory and supplementary papers were published by the League in 1900 under the title, *A Municipal Program*.

Committees were appointed to study problems of instruction in municipal government in colleges and in the public schools, uniform municipal accounting and statistics, and nomination reform.

Annual conferences were held in Milwaukee, Rochester, Boston and Detroit.

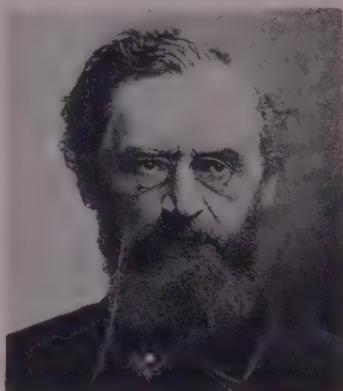
James C. Carter was elected honorary president in 1903. He was succeeded as president by Charles J. Bonaparte. Horace E. Deming became chairman of the Executive Committee.

1904-1910. A *Handbook of the National Municipal League 1894-1904* was published in 1904. *Proceedings* of the annual conferences held at Chicago, New York, Atlantic City, Providence, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Buffalo continued to be issued through the 1910 meeting, when they were discontinued. A "clipping sheet" service for newspapers was inaugurated in 1906. The William H. Baldwin Prize was established in 1905 and the High School Prize in 1910.

New fields of League activity were opened by the appointment of committees to study municipal taxation, taxation of benefits caused by growth of cities and excess condemnation, city finances and



CHARLES J. BONAPARTE
Founder
President, 1903-1910



CARL SCHURZ
Founder



R. FULTON CUTTING
Founder
Treasurer, 1894



CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS
Founder



WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE
Founder
President, 1910-1915



CHARLES W. ELIOT
Founder

budgets, work among college men, municipal reference libraries, improvement of methods of municipal administration, relations of public service corporations to the municipality, franchises, police, municipal health and sanitation, liquor problem, school extension, civic secretaries' work and operation of commission government.

William Dudley Foulke, of Richmond, Indiana, became the third president in 1910, and Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University, chairman of the Executive Committee.

1911-1916. The constitution was amended in 1911 to change the name of the Executive Committee to Council and Business Committee to Executive Committee. The president became ex-officio chairman of the Council. Another amendment created individual as well as association memberships. Lawson Purdy of New York was elected fourth president in 1915.

Publication of the *NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW* began in January 1912, with Secretary Woodruff as editor. It was issued as a quarterly through 1916. The first volume in the National Municipal League series of books, edited by Secretary Woodruff, was published in 1911—*City Government by Commission*. A second *Handbook* appeared in 1914.

A committee to revise the Municipal Program was appointed in 1913 with President Foulke as chairman. Preliminary reports were made to the annual meetings in 1914 and 1915. The Committee's final report was issued in 1916, *A Model City Charter and Municipal Home Rule*. Most significant change from the first program was incorporation of the council-manager plan.

Other committees were organized to study municipal courts, city managership as a profession, city and county consolidation, selection and retention of experts, training for municipal service, political methods, sources of municipal revenue, budgets and accounting, immigration, and relation of the city to its food supply. Notes on city planning first appeared in the *REVIEW* in 1913.

Additional prizes were established—Cincinnati Prize, 1911; Portland Prize, 1914; Morton Denison Hull Prize, 1914. An intercollegiate division was created in 1916.

Annual National Conferences on Government were held in Richmond, Los Angeles, Toronto, Baltimore, Dayton and Springfield, Massachusetts.

1917-1919. In 1917 it was voted to expand the scope of the League's activities to include state and county government. Committees on county government and on state government were formed. The annual meeting in December 1919 was organized as a "Moot State Constitutional Convention" to discuss provisions of a model state constitution.

The REVIEW was published bi-monthly from January 1917 through March 1919; monthly beginning May 1919. First supplement to the REVIEW was issued in September 1919—*The Assessment of Real Estate*, by Lawson Purdy. It became also the first of a new technical pamphlet series. *Equity* magazine was merged with the REVIEW in 1919. *A New Municipal Program*, containing provisions for municipal home rule, a Model City Charter, and comments by members of the committee, was published in book form in 1919.

A Survey Committee, appointed in 1917 to inquire into the League's organization, activities and program, reported a number of important recommendations in 1918, and several were adopted. Other committees were at work on civic education, civil service and efficiency, municipal pensions, uniform city reports, federal relations to cities. A new constitution was adopted at the 25th annual meeting in December 1919.

Representatives of nineteen governmental research agencies in the United States and Canada, present at the annual League meeting at Detroit in 1917, organized the Governmental Research Conference. Also at this meeting the name of the Civic Secretaries Committee of the League was changed to Civic Secretaries Association. The 1918 League meeting at New York was held in conjunction with the National Conference on War Economy.

George Burnham, Jr., resigned as treasurer in the spring of 1919. Raymond V. Ingersoll of Brooklyn served as treasurer from April to December 1919. At the 25th annual meeting at Cleveland in December 1919 Secretary Woodruff announced his retirement and was elected honorary secretary. The same meeting elected Charles E. Hughes,



LAWSON PURDY
President, 1915-1919



RICHARD H. DANA
Founder



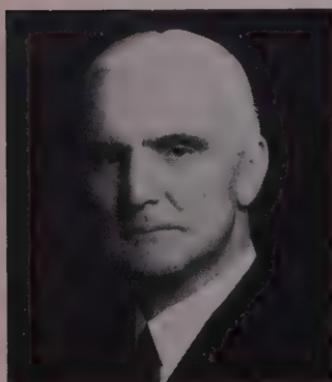
CHARLES EVANS HUGHES
President, 1919-1921



RAYMOND V. INGERSOLL
Treasurer, 1919



HENRY M. WAITE
President, 1921-1923



FRANK L. POLK
President, 1923-1927

New York, fifth president, and Frank A. Vanderlip, New York, treasurer.

1920-1924. Headquarters were moved from Philadelphia to New York in July 1920. The National Short Ballot Organization was merged with the League in 1920 and the *Short Ballot Bulletin* with the REVIEW. An experimental merger with the American Civic Association was effective for one year, 1921.

The REVIEW became the official organ for the American Civic Association, Governmental Research Conference, Short Ballot Organization, City Managers Association, Civic Secretaries Association, and National Conference on City Planning. Supplements to the REVIEW were issued on zoning, employment standardization, city planning, presidential primary, state administrative reorganization, street railway problem, and state parks. A policy of devoting the entire issue of the REVIEW for one month to a single topic was adopted, and some of the subjects discussed were: election administration, special assessments, pensions, city planning, political integration of metropolitan communities, and civil service. Attempt was made to popularize the magazine in accordance with the recommendations of the Survey Committee.

A program of education and active promotion of governmental improvements was inaugurated. Special emphasis was placed upon the city manager plan, county government reform, the short ballot, the reorganization of state government, and proportional representation. Service to local civic groups was expanded by the employment in 1920 of Professor A. R. Hatton of Western Reserve University as field director. Professor Hatton had been field representative of the National Short Ballot Organization since 1917. In 1921 Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the American Proportional Representation League, was added to the staff on a part-time basis.

Wide distribution was given to a number of new publications. In the field of state government these included: *Administrative Consolidation in State Governments*, by A. E. Buck, 1919; *Administrative Reorganization in Illinois*, by J. M. Mathews, 1920; and *A Model State Constitution*, prepared by the Committee on State Government, 1921. A new

pocket civic series (later called campaign pamphlets) was created to give concise and authoritative accounts of reform principles, in non-technical language. Most popular of these were *The Story of the City-Manager Plan*, 1921; *The Short Ballot*, by Richard S. Childs, 1921; and *Ramshackle County Government*, by Richard S. Childs, 1921. A *Loose-Leaf Digest of City Manager Charters*, prepared by Professor R. T. Crane of the University of Michigan, was published in 1923.

In November 1921 there was published in the REVIEW an article, "Drastic Proposals for a New National Municipal League." The anonymous author, calling himself "Some of our 'Best Minds,'" outlined a plan for expanded activities of the League.

Harold W. Dodds of Western Reserve University became the second secretary of the League on April 1, 1920. Following the resignation of Mr. Hughes in 1921, Henry M. Waite of New York was chosen as sixth president. Frank L. Polk of New York was elected seventh president at the annual meeting in 1923. Carl H. Pforzheimer of Harrison, New York, was elected treasurer at a meeting of the Council on December 12, 1921, and has served since that time.

Secretary Dodds went to Nicaragua in 1922 on a mission for the United States Department of State for the purpose of working out a modern election law. He returned to Nicaragua in 1924 to direct the first registration under the law, and in 1927 to redraft the election law.

Annual conferences during this period were held at Indianapolis, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington and Boston.

1925. A gift of \$10,000 was received from the Russell Sage Foundation for a study of the government of metropolitan areas under the direction of the Committee on Metropolitan Government. Two new pamphlets in the pocket civic series were issued: *The County Manager Plan*, by Richard S. Childs, and *A New Kind of County Government*, by Herbert Quick. A National Municipal League monograph series was begun in 1925 with the publication of *Municipal Budgets and Budget Making*, by A. E. Buck.

Secretary Dodds was given leave of absence to



RICHARD T. ELY
Founder



FRANK A. VANDERLIP
Treasurer, 1919-1921



MURRAY SEASONGOOD
President, 1931-1934



HAROLD W. DODDS
Secretary, 1920-1928
President, 1934-1937



RUSSELL FORBES
Secretary, 1928-1933



C. A. DYKSTRA
President, 1937-1940

act as technical adviser to General John J. Pershing, president of the Plebiscitary Commission in the Tacna-Arica arbitration between Chile and Peru.

The annual National Conference on Government met at Pittsburgh.

1926. A grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial made possible the establishment on October 1, 1926, of a new enterprise operated in connection with the League office, under the title of Municipal Administration Service. The League had representatives on the governing committee along with three other national organizations. First publication of the new service was *Government Research, Past, Present and Future*, by Charles A. Beard. *The Merit System in Government*, the report of the Conference Committee on the Merit System on which the League had representatives, was published by the League. St. Louis was host for the annual conference.

1927. Revised edition of *A Model City Charter* published; also *A Model Registration System* and *A Model Bond Law*. Richard S. Childs of New York was elected eighth president. George H. McCaffrey, Boston, the first director of the Municipal Administration Service, resigned on January 1, 1927, and was succeeded by Russell Forbes, New York. The conference was held in New York City.

1928. Harold W. Dodds resigned as secretary and was succeeded by Russell Forbes. Dr. Dodds continued as editor of the REVIEW until 1933. From 1928 to 1933 secretarial and editorial duties were separated, the only period in League history in which this occurred. Second edition of *A Model State Constitution* was issued; also *A Model Municipal Budget Law*.

The League took the initiative in organizing a National Committee on Municipal Standards composed of representatives of three national organizations. The conference was at Cincinnati.

1929. A Public Relations Department was established and Howard P. Jones, editor-in-chief of Nellis Newspapers of Michigan, was appointed to direct its activities. Committees were appointed on county government and organized citizens' participation in city government. On the initiative of the

League a National Committee on Municipal Reporting was organized, with League representatives included. By agreement with the International City Managers' Association the League assumed entire work of promotion of the city manager plan on a national scale. "The League's Honor Roll," a list of individuals who had been members for 25 years or longer, was published in the REVIEW for April. The conference was held in Chicago.

1930. *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States*, a committee report, was published; also *A Model County Manager Law*, *a Model Election Administration System*, and *The City Manager Plan at Work*. A Committee on Local Branches recommended unfavorably on the proposal that the League become a federation of local chapters and favored creation of local membership councils. The annual conference met at Cleveland.

1931. A two-day conference of vice-presidents and members of the Council was held at Chicago to discuss the work program and future policy of the League. At the annual meeting in Buffalo Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati, was elected ninth president. Richard S. Childs, New York, was elected Chairman of the Council, and he has held the position since that time.

1932. Merger of the Proportional Representation League with the National Municipal League, and the *Proportional Representation Review* with the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW was effected. George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the

Proportional Representation League, became associate secretary of the League. A new constitution for the National Municipal League was adopted. The National Conference on Government met at Washington.

1933. Leadership of the citizens' council movement designed to combat destructive economy and the National Pay-Your-Taxes Campaign was assumed by the League. The "You and Your Government" radio broadcasts were inaugurated, under the sponsorship of the League and in cooperation with the Committee on Civic Education by Radio of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the American Political Science Association. Series five of the broadcasts on the topic, "Constructive Economy in Government," were delivered June 20-September 26, 1933, and the sixth series on "The Crisis in Municipal Finance" was delivered October 3, 1933-February 6, 1934. Printed copies of the individual broadcasts were distributed and also bound volumes of each series.

The Municipal Administration Service was moved to Chicago and the name was changed to Public Administration Service. A Consultant Service was established by the League with Dr. Thomas H. Reed as director. Its first survey was of Yonkers, New York.

A third revision of the *Model State Constitution* and a fourth revision of the *Model City Charter* were issued; also *Principles of a Model County Government*, by R. C. Atkinson.

Russell Forbes resigned as secretary and Harold W. Dodds as editor

of the REVIEW. Howard P. Jones was elected secretary and became also editor of the REVIEW.

The League's annual meeting was at Atlantic City..

1934. Harold W. Dodds, president of Princeton University, was elected tenth president. Important publications were: *The Cincinnati Plan of Citizen Organization for Political Activity and Liquor Control: Principles, Model Law*. Series seven, eight, and nine of the radio broadcasts were delivered between February 1934 and January 1935 under the general titles of "Reviving Local Government," "A New Deal in Local Government," and "Trends in Government."

Surveys were made by the Consultant Service in Coral Gables and Winter Park, Florida; Kearny and North Bergen, New Jersey; Cortlandt, Greenburg, Harrison, Mt. Pleasant, Mt. Vernon, Nassau County and Yonkers, New York; and Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. A re-funding plan was prepared for Jersey City; a new charter written for Norwalk, Connecticut. The League's annual conference met at Pittsburgh.

1935. Another publication was added to the group of Model Laws—*A Model Real Property Tax Collection Law*. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of the series of radio broadcasts were given on the topics of "The 44 State Legislatures of 1935," "Taxation for Prosperity," and "Planning," between February 1935 and January 1936.

Surveys were made at Asbury Park, Dumont, Lyndhurst and Teaneck, New Jersey. The annual conference was held at Providence.

1936. A New York State Committee of the League was organized. The radio programs were discontinued after February. A survey was made of St. Petersburg, Florida, and re-funding proposals prepared for Inverness and Polk County, Florida, and Woodbridge, New Jersey.

The annual National Conference on Government met at Toledo.

1937. The New York State Committee of the League appointed a Special Committee on the New York State Constitution. Results of the new technique developed by the special committee for informing voters on the constitutional issues were highly successful.

Proportional Representation—The Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., was published under the joint sponsorship of the League and the Citizens Union of the City of New York.

Clarence A. Dykstra of the University of Wisconsin was elected eleventh president at the League's annual conference in Rochester.

Brookline, Massachusetts, Essex County, New Jersey (a history of twenty years of government in the county), and Savannah, Georgia, were surveyed.

1938. Publication of a new series of pamphlets under the title "Democracy in the Modern World" was begun. *The Reorganization of State Governments in the United States*, by A. E. Buck, was published for the League by Columbia University Press. A gift of \$25,000 a year for three years was made by Mrs. Nellie S. Childs to aid the expanded program of the League.

Surveys were made in Atlanta,

Georgia, and New Bedford, Massachusetts. The conference was held in Baltimore. Dr. Thomas H. Reed resigned as director of the Consultant Service and was succeeded by Secretary Jones.

1939. Arrangements were made for Dr. P. P. Womer, president emeritus of Washburn College and chairman of the Citizens' Council Committee of the League, to spend full time in the field promoting the organization of local citizen groups.

Dr. Roy V. Peel secured a leave of absence from New York University and was appointed director of research for the League. He was placed in charge of a research program on the relation of the citizen to his government, undertaken jointly by the League and Indiana University.

The Payne Fund released part of the time of S. Howard Evans to direct a new project on education for democracy.

Secretary Jones was appointed a member of the New York State Civil Service Commission and arrangements were made for him to give half of his time to the League.

A survey was made in Bar Harbor, Maine, with a plan of reorganization for the town. The League's conference was held in Indianapolis.

Draft of a State Civil Service Law was issued jointly by the League and the National Civil Service Reform League.

1940. Three regional conferences on citizenship and government were held this year. The Joint Conference on Improvement of Local Government in the South was held at Atlanta, February 6, 7 and 8, in co-

operation with the Institute of Citizenship of Emory University, Agnes Scott College and the Georgia School of Technology; a five-state conference was held at Minneapolis, February 19, 20 and 21, in cooperation with the Minneapolis Civic Council and other local civic groups; the Dallas conference, in cooperation with the Dallas Citizens Council, met March 20, 21 and 22.

Two hundred and eight colleges and universities and thirty national citizens' organizations accepted the League's invitation to a Conference on American Self-Government at Indiana University, May 13-14, 1940.

John G. Winant, of Concord, New Hampshire, was elected twelfth president at the League's annual conference in Springfield. The title of Alfred Willoughby, who joined the staff in 1937, was changed from assistant secretary to executive secretary.

The League published *Town Management in New England*; *Proportional Representation—the Key to Democracy*, by George H. Hallett, Jr., and *Manager Plan Abandonments*, by Arthur W. Bromage, were revised and republished.

The Consultant Service made a financial and administrative survey of White Plains, New York.

1941. Important publications included a fourth edition of the *Model State Constitution*, a fifth edition of the *Model City Charter*, *City Growing Pains*, *Local Progress in Labor Peace*, and a revision of *Citizen Organization for Political Activity—The Cincinnati Plan*. The Consultant Service completed a survey of the City of Passaic, New Jersey.

With the aid of the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco, the League cooperated in inaugurating an experimental Municipal Reporting Consultant Service.

The League's annual conference was held in St. Louis.

President Winant was appointed United States Ambassador to Great Britain.

1942. At the League's call, the nucleus of a Committee on Postwar Problems of Urban Peoples was formed. A nation-wide study was planned in cooperation with local civic and research agencies.

The League's pamphlet, *Best Practice under the Manager Plan*, was revised and republished.

A survey of Rome, New York, was made by the Consultant Service.

It was decided not to hold the 48th annual National Conference on Government. Instead a meeting of the Council and officers of the League was held in New York City in December.

1943. Secretary Jones resigned from the New York State Civil Service Commission to accept appointment as deputy state comptroller of New York in charge of the Division of Municipal Affairs. In August Mr. Jones was called to active duty as a major in Allied Military Government, and was granted a leave of absence as secretary for the duration of the war. Alfred Wiloughby, executive secretary, was authorized to act in his stead during such absence.

The Consultant Service made a financial survey of Wallingford, Connecticut.

As in 1942 no National Conference

on Government was held because of war-time travel conditions. All League officers and members of the Council were requested to continue to serve until a meeting of the membership could be held after the war.

1944. The Consultant Service made an evaluation of the government of Cincinnati during the past twenty years and an administrative survey of Augusta, Georgia.

The Story of the Council Manager Plan, Answers to Your Questions About the Manager Plan, and Forms of Municipal Government — How Have They Worked? were revised and republished.

Plans for the observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the League's founding included: (1) A fiftieth anniversary issue of the REVIEW, and (2) a fiftieth anniversary National Conference on Government to be held as soon as the war situation permits.

THE LEAGUE'S SECOND STRETCH

(Continued from page 519)
science which I take to be "law confused by popular participation."

That time-worn couplet of Pope's is not even a half truth! He was the hired publicity man of the reigning monarch of his day and his job was to ridicule and thwart the popular movement against privilege.

The League will go on with its better mechanisms, through them continuing to encourage and advise local civic and research groups, and through these doing what it can to make a strong reality of our ideal of self-government by informed, participating, active citizens.

Model Laws as Aid to Progress

It would be difficult to measure the full extent of the influence of the model laws on governmental efficiency, economy and integrity. Their impact has been great.

By HAROLD W. DODDS
President, Princeton University

TIME was when the orthodox method of curing a bad local situation was to "turn the rascals out." Over and over again this process was repeated in cities, but almost as often the progress gained was fleeting and temporary. The public sometimes grew cynical about "reformers" and discouraged by the unending task of having to kick out one set of rascals after another.

"Why," people began to ask, "can't there be a way to cement these gains into something permanent? Why must we retreat after every victory and have the fight to wage all over again?"

Early in the renaissance of municipal affairs at about the turn of the century, some of the better minds began to realize that there was something basically faulty in a system which not only tended to defeat popular control of public affairs but also, what was much worse, to prevent a clear understanding of the issues and an appreciation of standards of right and wrong.

Before there was a general awareness of this weakness, the National Municipal League took its first bold step toward the development of model laws and administrative systems which were to contribute substantially to the improvement of local, county and state government.

The League's 1897 meeting, the "Fourth Annual Conference on Good

City Government," adopted a resolution calling for the appointment of a committee "to report on the feasibility of a municipal program." At the 1898 meeting the preliminary report of the committee was discussed. The final report was approved at the 1899 meeting and the program was published in 1900.

A Municipal Program, as it was called, included five constitutional amendments and a municipal corporations act designed to promote better municipal government. The municipal corporations act, proposed for adoption by state legislatures, provided the strong mayor form of



government, a unicameral council elected at large for six-year overlapping terms to exercise the powers conferred on the city, a civil service commission of three or more appointed by the mayor, a comptroller appointed by the council, and the outline of municipal powers in broad terms. The amendments provided, in part, for limitation of special legislation and for home rule for cities over 25,000 population.

It was not a radical change in the form of city government, even in those days of municipal confusion and corruption. Rather, the program epitomized the best in the most progressive city governments of the time.

The League's subsequent model laws have been developed in much the same manner and always with the same purpose in mind: to set patterns clearly and specifically, delineating the best practice and the best thought on a problem, to correct existing defects, to set high standards which would provide something to fight for instead of against.

Above all, the model laws brought stability, dignity and scientific fact to "reform." They made readily available to officials and citizens the product of able thinkers on governmental problems.

Municipal Program Committee

The committee which, with the cooperation of other distinguished advisers, developed *A Municipal Program*, consisted of Horace E. Deming, chairman, a prominent New York lawyer and civic leader and founder in 1880 of the Brooklyn Young Republican Club; Frank J. Goodnow, then professor of administrative law at Columbia University,

later president of Johns Hopkins University, and revered as dean of American political scientists; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburgh lawyer, a leader in the Democratic party who served later as an ambassador; Charles Richardson, Philadelphia businessman and civic leader; Leo S. Rowe, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania; and Clinton Rogers Woodruff, secretary of the League. Along the path they blazed nearly half a century ago have moved hundreds of other authorities, as members of League committees, preparing remedies to cure the ills of self-government.

The process of drawing up the model laws has been aptly described as a meeting of the experts' minds. At an annual meeting of members or at a meeting of the Council it is decided to create a committee to deal authoritatively with a specific problem. The committee is instructed to prepare a model law. After a series of meetings and discussions of the committee, and perhaps subcommittees to establish agreement on basic principles, one or more of the members are assigned to prepare a tentative draft. This is distributed not only among the members of the committee but also among other authorities for detailed comment and criticism. The tentative draft is then redrawn by an expert or committee of experts. Frequently there are additional critical analyses and redrafts before the model law is approved.

A Municipal Program was the precursor of the *Model City Charter* which is widely credited with having had more influence than any other single document on the improvement

of local government. This model has been revised four times. By far the most thorough of these revisions occurred after several years of study and deliberation in 1916. Again the committee presented its proposals in two parts, a series of constitutional amendments and a model home rule city charter. The most important change was the substitution of the council-manager form of government for the strong mayor type. The initiative, referendum and recall were added, and six administrative departments established. Other changes were made and have been made in the three subsequent revisions of 1927, 1933, and 1941. Basically, however, the *Model City Charter* today is the 1899 *Municipal Program* as modified and extended in 1916.

New Model Laws

In the twenties the model law program was greatly extended. During this period the *Model State Constitution*, *Model Election Law* and a group of model fiscal laws were published and the *Model City Charter* was revised. In more recent years a *Model Civil Service Law*, a *Model Liquor Control Law*, and revisions and extensions of earlier proposals have been published.

Of all the League's models, the *Model State Constitution* is the most forward-looking in the sense that it is farthest ahead of actual practice and experience. This is due largely to the habit-bound stagnation evident in the constitutions of most states. So great has been the resistance to change that political idealists and authorities on public administration have inevitably found themselves far ahead of the proce-

sion when setting modern standards for states. The *Model State Constitution* has profoundly affected the thinking on state problems even though states have not found it politically practical to follow its standards as closely as cities have followed *The Model City Charter*.

In 1919, shortly after it had been decided to expand the League's activities to include state and county government, the annual meeting featured a Moot State Constitutional Convention. It was decided that the proceedings of the moot convention were to be an advisory opinion to the Committee on State Government. The committee was charged with the responsibility of drafting a model state constitution for presentation to the next annual meeting. After discussion and criticism of the preliminary report at the 1920 convention, the report was adopted with one minor exception at the 1921 meeting.

The *Model State Constitution* provided for a unicameral legislature elected by proportional representation, centralization of administration in the governor—he being the only elected administrative official, a legislative council, close relations between the legislature and the governor, initiative and referendum and a reorganized judiciary.

Although there have been three revisions of the original document in 1928, 1933 and 1941, changes made have been minor. It is still the best thought on the subject.

To complete the state-county-city picture there remained to be formulated a model county law. In 1929 a Committee on County Government was appointed which reported

a *Model County Manager Law* a year later. The law was in the form of a statute which would permit the adoption of a county manager form of government by any county. The long ballot was eliminated and administration centralized in a manager appointed by the county board.

The Committee on County Government was reorganized and enlarged in 1931 and over a period of three years studied various phases of county problems. One result of the committee's deliberations was the publication in 1933 of the booklet *Principles of a Model County Government* by R. C. Atkinson. Although not in the form of a model charter, the booklet outlines the principles of a model county government, with supporting reasons. A county board of five to nine members elected at large by proportional representation and a county manager and administrative departments are provided.

Fiscal Program

Model laws on specific subjects are natural extensions of the League's basic state, county and city model laws. The largest single group comprise the fiscal laws. After several years of meetings and discussions the first of these, the *Model Bond Law*, was published in 1927. A year later a *Model Municipal Budget Law* was published, while in 1935 a *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law* was issued. At present three revisions of model fiscal laws are in an advanced state of preparation, these being a *Model Accrual Basis Budget Law*, *Model Cash Basis Budget Law* and *Model Bond Law*.

A Committee on Election Administration was appointed in 1926. It is-

sued two model laws, in 1927 *Model Registration System* and in 1930 a companion booklet, *Model Election Administration System*.

The best example of the League arising to a sudden emergency and drafting a model law to meet it is found in the case of the *Model Liquor Control Law*. After repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the annual meeting of 1933 passed a resolution calling for appointment of a Committee on Liquor Control Legislation. The following January, only three months later, the pamphlet, *Liquor Control: Principles, Model Law*, was published. The chief recommendation was for a state liquor authority plan with state-owned retail stores having a monopoly.

Results were almost immediate. By May 1934 eleven states had adopted the state ownership plan. At present there are sixteen states.

The most recent model law was the joint effort of the National Municipal League and the National Civil Service Reform League. *Draft of a State Civil Service Law* was issued in 1939. It provides for a state director of personnel heading a department of civil service with a nonpartisan commission of three advisory to him and the governor.

It would be difficult to measure accurately the full extent of the influence of the model laws in favor of governmental efficiency, economy and integrity. Their impact has been great. If we were to use the popular device of dollars, it could be said conservatively that the millions saved for the taxpayers of cities which have followed the guides of the Mod-

(Continued on page 544)

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HAROLD E. STASSEN
Lieutenant Commander, U.S.N.R.F.

WILSON WYATT, Mayor
Louisville, Kentucky

Council of the League—1944

The Council is the governing body of the National Municipal League. Former presidents—Lawson Purdy, Richard S. Childs, Murray Seasongood, Harold W. Dodds and C. A. Dykstra are also members of the Council ex officio.

Honorary Vice Presidents — 1944



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U. S. State Department



LENT D. UPSON, Director
National Training School for Public
Service



RICHARD WELLING, Secretary
National Self Government
Committee

What of the Next 50 Years?

There will be continuing need of an unselfish, intelligent and impartial organization such as the League if local government and American democracy are to function well.

By MURRAY SEASONGOOD

Former Mayor of Cincinnati

THE National Municipal League, in 50 years of existence, has steadfastly adhered to the motto of Seneca's pilot:

Oh, Neptune, you may sink me if you will, you may save me if you will, but I shall hold my rudder true.

No doubt the League will continue to determine wisely what, in the next 50 years, ought to be its best role or roles as a good government agency.

Enterprises and callings, public and private, have learned they must be adaptable in these changing times. They can no longer proceed in a fixed and unchanging pattern based on the past. Thus one finds medicine encouraging, where it formerly opposed, insurance for hospital and surgical care; the law grudgingly abandoning old techniques for the more flexible procedures of administrative agencies; peacetime factories converted in an incredibly short interval to the production of war materials. Mutations may therefore be expected in the conduct of government and the objectives of the League.

Lowell's shrewd Yankee, Hose Bigelow, observed, "You must never prophesy unless you know." But there is a certain pleasure connected with divination: few will remember what was prophesied unless reminded of it by the soothsayer when and if his forecasts eventuate. So, to recall some changes in government that have occurred since the incep-



tion of the League, to forecast others that may come about and to present for consideration by the League subjects of study and effort will not be over-temerarious.

First has been the tremendous growth, especially in the last fifteen years, of federal power and its impact on local autonomy. Part of the expansion has been due to the war and may subside when it ceases. But much antedates or is wholly independent of the great conflict. The federal government has not only assumed functions which in the past were considered distinctively local, but has, by preempting much of the tax field and over-all ability to bear imposts, constricted needed revenues of local subdivisions.

The United States Supreme Court has confided to federal authority much that a dozen years ago would have been declared, in the same court, beyond the national reach. For instance, federal taxation of state and municipal salaries has been sanctioned and the battle to assess income derived from municipal bonds still rages. A settled purpose, to tax this yield under existing law is manifest in the dissenting opinions of the Tax Court and of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals with respect to the Tri-Borough Bridge and Port Authority of New York obligations.

So, too, decisions of the highest court have found constitutional guarantees of civil liberties existent to a degree interfering with regulations and controls by local authorities. Federal agencies such as housing authorities have been accorded tax exemption. Contribution to local authorities in lieu of taxes by the administrator is only a matter of grace and in an amount that takes into account benefits from the improvement. Yet inhabitants of such housing projects receive all the local services enjoyed by those who pay local taxes directly or in their rent. The private entrepreneur is taxed on the full value of the improvement without diminution by the public benefit which may accrue from it; and so he is placed at a disadvantage in competition with the federal government —competition that could, if pushed, usurp the whole public housing field.

The national government has encouraged public ownership of utilities: its tax-exempt properties have, in some instances, forced privately owned utilities to give up and sell

out, with resulting loss of taxable property in the localities served. Rate regulation of public utilities has been largely wrested from state commissions by the Federal Power Commission and the imprimatur on securities transferred from state "blue sky" boards to the Securities and Exchange Commission.

A few years ago the federal government passed a municipal bankruptcy act, said to be temporary, to relieve local governments from the consequences of their folly. After the act was sustained as constitutional the Congress extended its life. It may be made permanent. Ten years ago one would have stated categorically, bankruptcy was for traders, private corporations and individuals and that the federal power over bankruptcies could not interfere with and force compromise of obligations of an arm of the state.

It has been ruled recently that an authority, building temporary war housing units in a city as agent for the federal government, is not subject to requirements of the municipal building code.

Impartial Study Needed

The foregoing are examples of oscillation between federal and local authority intended to show that federal-state-local relations and intergovernmental immunity from taxation must receive complete and impartial study as a prelude to wise adjustment.

Second, municipal corporations in the broad sense, including counties and districts, have been called on to render services and have assumed functions which in the League's infancy would have been termed so-

cialistic (now no longer a term of reproach) and either not for a public purpose or wholly outside of proper municipal functioning. Today we see cities owning and operating utilities, such as street railways, buses and telephones; but beyond those, municipal radio stations, milk and ice plants and abattoirs. Some municipalities engage in governmental advertising and promotion. Some have labor relations boards. Motor vehicles brought traffic problems, led to adapting old streets to new loads and to municipal parking lots, garages, parking meters, trailer camps and experiments with excess condemnation, setbacks, freeways, subways.

The rather recent—in the life of an old institution like the League—development of aviation has imposed increasingly heavy burdens on the cities. First there was the need, so as to remain on the communications map, of furnishing an airport. Then cities had to double and treble the number and size of their airfields. Ground and air motor transportation have likewise changed the whole complexion of the cities. Dwellings and industries, especially such for which railroad connection was not indispensable, have been projected beyond city peripheries with resultant diminishing intramural population and resources, blighted areas and decrement of land and building values, less tax yield from them and quest for new sources of revenue to meet increasing demands.

Third, the beginning of home rule for cities antedates the birth of the League, but the spread and development of a less state-controlled autonomy mark the last 30 years.

Likewise in that time there have been severe rebuffs in the struggle to escape from the strait-jackets forced on cities by rurally dominated or hostile state legislatures having no understanding of or sympathy with municipal problems and strivings. The Ohio Supreme Court has all but wiped out effective county home rule by strained interpretation of the constitutional amendment of the early thirties; and, in a series of recent decisions, has whittled down the 1912 constitutional grant of municipal home rule so as to make much of it completely ineffective or non-existent.

Civil Service

Fourth, civil service is older in this country than the League. It is no longer openly scoffed at as "snivel service" and is constantly receiving more theoretical support. But attempts to hobble it are no less: political machines recognize that the merit system, properly applied and enforced, is destructive of their chief sustenance, political patronage. The outcry over the federal Hatch Act, especially when shown to be usable to prevent pernicious political activity in the states, has made the conflict of ideologies patent. Critics of the merit system have queried, sometimes in good faith, whether, assuming it will deploy and continue militant, should there not be restudy with a view to eradicating weaknesses which, they insist, have marred its workings.

Thus, it is commonly asserted, security of tenure breeds inefficiency, lack of initiative and indifference to the public served. Some of these criticisms could be obviated by bet-

ter opportunities for advancement, transfers to desirable positions even though not in the same branch, and conscientious, not merely perfunctory, grading by appointing officials.

It may be assumed there will be, for this war's veterans, preference credits and priorities and that laws bestowing them will continue to be sustained as constitutional. However, there is danger that these favors may be so extreme as to inflict almost mortal wounds to the merit system by making truly competitive conditions impossible. Other legislative paring of the efficiency of the merit system has resulted and is likely to increase in response to efforts of pressure groups and public employees unions.

How are the canons of the merit system to be reconciled with the principles of collective bargaining, the closed shop and the right of non-public employees to strike? If ordinary activities of unions are not applicable to public employees under the merit system, what should be an effective means of bargaining and presenting grievances?

The Manager Plan

Fifth, the council-manager form of government, unknown in this country a generation ago, has been for the League a special subject of interest and support. Much credit for the infiltration of that form to over 600 cities and counties and to one of every five cities with 10,000 population or more in this country is due to the unfailing devotion of the League. Here, too, political machines have been in opposition. They have not always realized that this or any form is not conclusive for good gov-

ernment and can be distorted to accomplish their purposes. But numerous objections have been trumped up and passed along for use by opponents of the plan. For example, there is always much vehement iteration that the chief executive should be elected, and, adds the chauvinists' chorus, only from among citizens domiciled in the community.

Not all questioning, however, is merely captious. Even a conscientious adherent of the system may ask, in the light of experience, is it entirely reasonable that the mayor and council keep hands off administrative appointments by the manager, especially if the manager comes as a stranger and no matter how uninformed and unfortunate some such appointments may be? A mayor under this system, who should be the political leader and spokesman for the party in power, is sometimes placed in an untenable position if expected to justify publicly manager actions and appointments of which he really disapproves. More general recognition that the position of mayor in the council-manager scheme is of the essence and that persons of the highest type must be attracted to it will meet some of the pedestrian snippings at the plan.

Also, proper inquiry includes how much of the excellence of the council-manager setup is dependent on choice of the council by the method of proportional representation; and if it be conceded P. R. is essential, which form of P. R. is best and are there desirable modifications to be made in the Hare or any of the utilized systems of P. R.

Sixth, before acceptance there

must be more proof of validity than inheres in the mere iteration of the shibboleth, "A two-party system is essential for the proper workings of a democracy." Of course, in large segments of our country, the two-party system in any real sense does not exist. Where existent, it not infrequently constitutes, as conducted, a grievous injury to independent and honest local self-government.

Political Gangs

Conversely, the predatory city and county gangs which flourish under the aegis of the two-party system—here terming themselves Republican and there Democratic, depending upon the predominant national climate in the community—amount to a baleful influence on the national parties. In the current presidential campaign the Republicans are sounding off mightily against the Democratic city machines of Jersey City, Kansas City, Chicago, New York City, St. Louis and Memphis. Some of these, they asseverate, have no state patronage because the state governments are of the opposite party: they are maintained by federal patronage which, in turn, supports the benefactor. This ululation (trumpeting would, I suppose, be more exact) is a somewhat amusing emanation from those who counted as most valiant hoplites similar machines, when they had them, in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis and Cincinnati, for example. There is a great deal of nonsense talked about the necessity of the two-party system as now in force, and the menace to it of proportional representation. A more real menace is control of election machinery by the

professionals so as to prevent an honest casting and count of the ballot and to make incursions of the independent foredoomed.

Citizenship

Last, and more important and by far more difficult to achieve than anything which has been indicated or can be envisaged, the League should essay as its greatest task to infuse into citizens and especially into the more favorably circumstanced a burning consciousness that what has been countenanced in the machinations of wicked political gangs is vile; that the evil spirits of corruption and cynicism must be exorcized if the workings of the American democracy are to approximate the ideals of the founders. The struggle to bring this about is unequal, with almost overwhelming strength under existing conditions in the camp of the wrongdoers. For the reformer David to bring down the machine politician Goliath, the pebble and sling must be sentiment which will ostracize from decent society anyone, no matter how prominent financially or socially, who lends himself to the debasement of his community.

So, if no other problems were existent or apt to arise—and, of course, there are many—can it be doubted there will be continuing need of an unselfish, intelligent and impartial organization, such as the League has always shown itself to be, if local government and the American democracy are to function fittingly? The fight for their preservation is not only in the time of obvious peril on the battlefield, but every day for those loyal civic patriots who, un-

daunted by apparent failures, continue to strive. As is recorded in the Book of Proverbs: ". . . A righteous man falleth seven times and riseth up again."

There is a difficult road ahead for the League to ascend. But, plodding along, the summit will be discerned, just as it was in England where similar obstacles were surmounted by the passage of the reform bills. Who shall gainsay that the League, with long life and with even more sturdy determination than in its first 50 years, may bring to the benighted in governmental affairs the blessing of clearer vision; as to the young Tobias the angel brought healing for the scales on the eyes of Tobit.

MODEL LAWS AS AID TO PROGRESS

(Continued from page 534)

el City Charter and the *Model Budget Law* alone would add up to an impressive total even in these days of astronomical governmental costs.

As early as 1908 Professor John A. Fairlie said, "In the main, then, the principles of the *Municipal Program* have been steadily gaining ground. Its influence can be seen in the work of state constitutional conventions, in state laws and in charters for particular cities." In 1910 Dr. W. F. Willoughby commented, "The publication of its *Municipal Program* marks an epoch in the history of municipal reform and has exerted a profound influence in bringing about improved conditions."

These observations were made long before the League's program of "mod-

els" was fairly under way. Their influence has steadily increased and multiplied. Although little attempt has been made to gauge this influence, by 1932 the secretary's report noted that six states had passed laws based on the *Model Registration System* while eight states had passed laws based on the *Model Election Administration System*. A few months after publication of the *Draft of a State Civil Service Law* it was noted that several state legislatures had adopted its principles.

Practically all of the hundreds of cities which have adopted the council-manager form of government have used the *Model City Charter* as a direct guide; many others, particularly those with the strong mayor form, have also followed it. It is almost invariably a basic tool of local charter revision commissions.

The *Model State Constitution* has been very much in evidence at all recent state constitutional conventions and has been cited repeatedly. At the recent Missouri convention each of the delegates had a copy and, although many of its more advanced provisions failed to get over political hurdles, it is credited with giving substantial support to delegates and civic organizations which fought for an ideal constitution and with winning distinct progress.

Any reviewer of the history of governmental improvement and civic progress during the last 50 years in the United States must assign an important place to the League's models which give every promise of continuing their function of implementing the ideals of the people with specific and sound guides.

Contributors in Review

DEAN of American historians, **Charles A. Beard** (*The League and the Future*) taught politics at Columbia University from 1907 to 1917, then became director of the Training School for Public Service in New York City. In 1922 he went to Tokyo as adviser to the Institute of Municipal Research. Dr. Beard is former president of the American Historical Association, American Political Science Association, and the National Association of Adult Education. He is author of many well known books on American government.

AN ADVOCATE of local good government since undergraduate days, **Richard S. Childs** (*The League's Second Stretch*) is widely known as the "Father" of the council-manager plan. While achieving success in a business career, Mr. Childs also had time to found the National Short Ballot Organization which merged with the National Municipal League in 1920; he was president of the National Municipal League from 1927 to 1931; is now chairman of its Council. He is a member of the advisory council of the Proportional Representation League and chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York.

SECRETARY of the National Municipal League from 1920 to 1928, editor of its NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW from 1920 to 1933 and president from 1934 to 1937, **Harold W. Dodds** (*Model Laws as Aid to Progress*) has played an important part in the League's destinies. Dr. Dodds, in 1922-24, was electoral adviser to the government of Nicaragua and in 1928 he was chief adviser to the president of the Nicaragua National Board of Elections. In 1927 he became professor of politics and in 1933 president of Princeton University.

ONE of the leading spirits in the 1924 civic renaissance of Cincinnati, and that city's mayor from 1926 to 1930, **Murray Seasongood** (*What of the Next 50 Years?*) has watched the progress of the council-manager plan and proportional representation in his city with a keen eye. Mr. Seasongood, a distinguished lawyer, has also been part-time professor at the College of Law of the University of Cincinnati since 1925 and was Godkin Lecturer at Harvard in 1933. He was formerly president of the National Municipal League, the Harvard Club and the Cincinnati Legal Aid Society, and a former chairman of the Municipal Law Section of the American Bar Association. He is now president of the Hamilton County Good Government League. Mr. Seasongood is author of several volumes and has written frequently for periodicals.

AUTHOR of a still to be published history of the National Municipal League, **Frank M. Stewart** (*Milestones of the First 50 Years*) spent a number of years in research among League records and publications. Professor Stewart was executive secretary of the League of Texas Municipalities and editor of its publication from 1919 to 1924. He has been a professor in government at the University of California at Los Angeles since 1932 and chairman of the department from 1935 to 1939. He is now director of the University's Bureau of Governmental Research, which post he has held since 1937. Professor Stewart is author of *The Reorganization of State Administration in Texas*, *The National Civil Service Reform League* and other volumes.

ACTIVE in the founding of the National Municipal League, its first secretary **Clinton Rogers Woodruff** (*Rising Tide of Civic Progress*) served in that capacity from 1894 to 1919. He was editor of the Proceedings of the National Conference on Good Government from 1894 to 1911, editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW from 1912 to 1919, and author of several volumes on city government. Mr. Woodruff has been prominent in civic, governmental and religious affairs in his city and state. He served two terms in the Pennsylvania legislature. In 1919 he became president of the Civil Service Commission of Philadelphia and in 1932 was appointed director of public welfare in that city.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Constitutions Submitted: New Jersey this Month, Missouri in February

Unicameral Issue Causes Conflict in Latter State

THE officers and delegates to the Missouri Constitutional Convention¹ signed the completed draft of a new constitution on September 28. The document, which had previously been approved section by section, was accepted as a whole earlier in the day, with only four dissenting votes from among the 82 delegates.

The convention set February 27, 1945, as the date for a special election at which the new constitution is to be submitted to the voters of the state.

The new constitution includes many sections of the 1875 constitution but is about 11,000 words shorter. The bill of rights is much the same, but assures equal civil rights for women and men, extends freedom of speech to radio and recognizes collective bargaining. Absentee voting is provided for.

The executive department has been extensively reorganized. The governor is authorized to assign some 70 existing boards and bureaus to appropriate executive departments. The merit system is prescribed for employees of state hospitals and penal institu-

tions. Revenues are to be collected by one agency instead of twelve. A state comptroller will supervise all expenditures and examine all claims before certifying them to the state auditor for payment. The fiscal year will begin July 1, simplifying appropriation, accounting and reporting. All revenues derived from highway use are to be devoted to highways and extension of state and county highways is provided for. A new department of public health and welfare is to unify state activities in those fields.

Classification of property for tax purposes is provided. Local tax limitation is retained at changed ratios to valuations, which may be increased by a two-thirds majority vote, subject to legislative restrictions.

Four classes of county governments are authorized instead of only one; counties of more than 85,000 population may draft their own charters. Voluntary consolidation and partitioning of counties, cooperation of two to ten counties in performing governmental functions, and consolidation of city and county functions, are permitted. The relation of St. Louis city and county are specially covered. Local government budgets are required. Cities may issue revenue bonds for municipal utilities by a four-sevenths majority vote.

The present court structure is retained but is unified under the state supreme court. Magistrates replace justices of the peace. The fee system is abolished.

A bipartisan state board of education which will select and advise the commissioner of education is established.

On the final day of the convention's deliberations a dispute developed concerning the handling of the legislative section. Early in its sessions the convention had rejected a proposal for a

¹See the REVIEW, April 1943, p. 198; May 1943, pp. 260, 263, on election of delegates; November 1943, p. 549, on organization of convention; December 1943, p. 608, on proposals made and use of the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution*; March 1944, p. 143, on work of committees; and September 1944, p. 410, on civil service provisions.

unicameral legislature for Missouri and the present system of a two-chamber legislature was followed. The one-chamber idea has had active support outside the convention from business interests on the score of efficiency, economy and dissatisfaction with the present legislature; from the Crusaders, a nonpartisan organization for political reform,² from the League of Women Voters, some newspapers and other sources. As a result of their efforts an initiative proposal for a unicameral legislature will be voted on at the general election on November 7.

As the new constitution would conflict with the unicameral proposal if the latter is adopted in November, a committee of the convention presented a provision that if the unicameral plan is approved by the voters it should supersede the bicameral provision. The convention, however, defeated this plan and also a proposal that the convention recess until November 14 in order to take appropriate action if the unicameral provision is successful at the polls.

If the latter is not approved on November 7 no problem will be presented; but if the voters decide in favor of this important reform the many good features of the new constitution will be endangered by the refusal of the convention to provide for the contingency that the people wish to do away with the traditional two-house legislature in favor of a single chamber.

New Jersey Document

The voters of New Jersey have the opportunity at the general election on November 7 to replace their century-old constitution by a revised and modernized successor which was adopted by the state legislature, acting as a constitutional convention,³ last March.

Among important new provisions are

those for consolidation of a hundred state departments and agencies into twenty principal administrative departments under the governor, establishment of a unified and simplified court system reducing the state courts from ten to two, consolidation of state funds and strengthening of control, increase in the terms of governor and senators to four years and of assemblymen to two years with higher legislative salaries, requirement of three-fifths instead of majority vote of the legislature to override the governor's veto and simplification of the process of amendment.

The new constitution is strongly advocated by Governor Edge and Ex-governor Edison, but is opposed by Mayor Hague of Jersey City and his allies, and is a subject of strong political controversy. Among organizations favoring it are the Consumers League of New Jersey, State League of Women Voters, State Chamber of Commerce, State Federation of Women's Clubs, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards, and Independent Clubs of New Jersey.

Redistricting in Prospect for Texas Legislature

The legislature of Texas is directed by the state constitution to reapportion the legislative districts according to population after each decennial federal census, but it has failed since 1930 to do so. In 1941 the lower house passed a redistricting bill for representatives but it died in the Senate. Governor Stevenson has now promised to give representative redistricting emergency right-of-way at next January's regular legislative session, which would permit speedy action—if the Governor pushes the plan.

²See REVIEW, February 1943, p. 102.

³See the REVIEW, December 1943, p.

608; February 1944, p. 88; and April 1944, p. 200.

According to the *Houston Post*, 110 districts now have excessive representation because of a decline in population and 120 have increased in population and are under-represented.

Interstate Meetings Consider Reconversion and Employment

The first of five regional meetings of the Council of State Governments was held in Atlantic City September 15 and 16, the others being scheduled for Salt Lake City, Birmingham, San Francisco and Chicago, ending in mid-November. Reconversion of industry, re-employment and unemployment compensation were important topics considered.

Besides urging prompt Congressional action in these matters, the states were called upon by unanimous resolutions at the Atlantic City meeting to make every effort to ascertain the number of jobs to be needed in the demobilization period, to meet transitional unemployment with adequate unemployment insurance and useful public works, to assure jobs and educational advantages for veterans, to eliminate taxes that may discourage legitimate enterprise and to free interstate commerce from statutory provisions that impede the flow of goods or services between states.

Uniform unemployment benefits were not recommended; it was specified that they should be based on wages, living conditions and nature of employment in the various regions. Thus inter-regional competition would be facilitated.

As to public works it was charged that the planning of programs by states and municipalities has been retarded by uncertainty as to federal aid, and the Council of State Governments was asked to request Congress to take early and definite action either for or against federal aid to states and municipalities for postwar public works.

Retirement System Planned for Alabama Employees

The Alabama Retirement System Commission, created by the legislature of that state in 1943, has prepared a plan for a state retirement system to provide for annuities and pensions on an actuarial basis, and has recently submitted a tentative legislative act to department heads for criticism. Participation of counties and municipalities is provided for where desired. Contributions of employees on a percentage of salary up to \$3,000 per annum are called for as the basis of retirement annuities, the state to contribute pensions of a comparable amount.

Joint Committee to Study Congressional Organization

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 23, introduced by Senator Maloney of Connecticut for the purpose of establishing a joint committee on the organization of Congress, has been approved by the Senate and referred to the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives.

The resolution provides that the committee "shall make a full and complete study of the organization and operation of the Congress of the United States and shall recommend improvements in such organization and operation with a view toward strengthening the Congress, simplifying its operations, improving its relationships with other branches of the United States Government and enabling it better to meet its responsibilities under the constitution."

The study is also to cover the relationship between the two houses of Congress, the employment and remuneration of personnel by the members and committees of Congress, and the structure of and relationships between the various standing, special and select committees; but no change in parlia-

mentary rules is to be recommended.

The committee is to consist of six senators and six representatives, to be chosen by the presiding officers of each house, not more than three of each group to be from the same party. Reports are to be rendered every six months until the study is finished.

Reconversion, Federal Surplus Acts Leave Many Problems

President Roosevelt when signing the reconversion and surplus war property disposal bills called upon Congress to supplement both measures with additional legislation. As to the reconversion bill, although commending it as far as it went, he urged that federalized minimum standards of the amount and duration of unemployment insurance benefits be established and that they be extended to federal employees in war work. He also called the bill inadequate as to unified programs for demobilization of civilian war workers and their re-employment in peacetime activities.

The surplus property bill was criticized as likely to delay reconversion by confused methods of disposition and elaborate restrictions; but it was hoped that Congress would consider recommendation of the three-man disposal board based on its actual operation.

The latter bill gives priority to states and their subdivisions after federal agencies in the disposal of surplus war property. The amount of the surplus has been increasing, especially from army sources, although a considerable amount has already been disposed of by various federal agencies.

Council-Manager Plan News

Hope that the voters of **Little Rock, Arkansas**, may regain the right to vote on the adoption of a council-manager plan has been revived by the passage of a favorable resolution by the Ar-

kansas Municipal Police Association. Under a 1931 enabling act two votes on the manager plan were held in Little Rock. Although the plan was not adopted, local politicians tried to make another vote impossible and persuaded the legislature to repeal the enabling act in 1939. The Little Rock police opposed the manager plan at the elections, but are reported to have been displeased by actions of the eighteen-man board of aldermen regarding civil service and other matters, and now to favor a change. The police association at its annual meeting in Little Rock on September 20 adopted a resolution urging the legislature to re-enact a law giving Arkansas cities the right to vote on a city manager form of government.

In **Chattanooga, Tennessee**, the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce has unanimously voted to institute a study of the council-manager plan by a special committee. Chattanooga has had a commission government since 1911, and President E. E. Brown of the Chamber declared that postwar problems will require a modernized, efficient governmental plan. It is not intended that the manager plan be installed prior to the expiration of the terms of the present five commissioners in 1947; and there could still be five commissioners or councilmen (one of them being mayor), who would select a manager. One of three prospective members of the State House of Representatives has spoken favorably of the plan, which will require legislative action.

Johnson City, Tennessee, one of seven manager cities in that state, reports that in five years under a manager it has reduced tax rates and accumulated a surplus of \$288,368, whereas the former government in ten years had annual deficits aggregating \$1,134,359; that bonded debt has been reduced

over 10 per cent, or \$324,070, and annual interest by nearly 30 per cent, or \$49,021.

The annual meeting of the Maine Town and City Managers' Association was held in Houlton on September 8 and 9, with 24 managers in attendance. Maine now leads all other states in the number of managers, having 55 city and town managers on the official list of the International City Managers' Association.

In **Burlington, North Carolina**, the civic committee of the Chamber of Commerce has prepared for submission to popular vote a proposal for replacing the present mayor-aldermanic form of government by the manager form with a council of five, one from each of four wards and one at large. The proposal was to be placed before a general civic committee composed of leaders in the community. A widespread poll of citizens by questionnaire was conducted by the Chamber committee and resulted in only two replies in favor of the present governmental plan.

Manager charters are on the November 7 ballot in **Berkley, Midland** and **River Rouge, Michigan**. In the same state **Vassar** and **Rogers City**, formerly villages, are contemplating adoption of manager charters in the near future.

A city manager proposal in **Hayward, California**, was defeated, 864 to 551, at a special election on September 26.

City Managers' Conference Stresses Postwar Needs

The International City Managers' Association held its 31st annual conference in Chicago on October 12 to 17 with 133 managers from 29 states and the province of Quebec, Canada, and 127 others in attendance.

Conference speakers gave the managers a vision of what their cities might become through planning and manage-

ment, and the managers themselves through their own discussion developed some of the tools and techniques of management needed to build the city of the future.

The managers who have met the problems of the war period were warned by Herbert Emmerich, associate director of the Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago, and former commissioner of the Federal Public Housing Authority, that they face in the postwar period even greater problems that can be solved most effectively by giving more attention to over-all management; they were told that the greatest strides in the techniques of management have been made by the cities, yet those cities are losing prestige as the federal and state governments enter the field of local government. An important postwar task of the manager will be the development of intergovernment relations that will assure the city of its place in the determination of policy.

Louis Wirth, professor of sociology, University of Chicago, and former director of the Illinois Postwar Planning Commission, pointed out that, if present population trends continue, postwar cities with few exceptions will be mature cities and that it will take comprehensive plans based on studies of the economic and social basis of cities to prevent their decay.

Floyd W. Reeves, professor of administration, University of Chicago, and former chairman of the conference on postwar readjustment of civilian and military personnel, presented the facts on postwar employment, stressing the need for cities to complete their plans for postwar public works. The banquet speaker, Dr. Charles E. Merriam, professor emeritus of political science, University of Chicago, called the manager plan the greatest contribution of the United States to the field of gov-

ernmental administration; he cited the manager plan to show that democracy need not be inefficient.

The managers divided by population groups to discuss current day-to-day problems. Another day was devoted to the techniques of over-all management organized around two panel discussions, one on the development of department heads and other administrative personnel and the second on how the manager exercises control over activities.

The conference guest of honor, Louis Brownlow, director of the Public Administration Clearing House, reviewed the history of the association and its over-all influence on management through the last three decades. Other speakers included Walter H. Blucher, executive director, American Society of Planning Officials; Carl H. Chatters, executive director, Municipal Finance Officers Association; J. J. Donovan, acting director, Civil Service Assembly; and Earl D. Mallory, executive director, American Municipal Association.

Four managers were awarded 25-year service certificates: H. J. Graeser, Marshall, Texas; V. J. Hultquist, Alcoa, Tennessee; Fred E. Johnston, Sallisaw, Oklahoma; and Theodore H. Townsend, St. Johns, Michigan.

At the annual business meeting the following new officers were elected: J. R. French, Verdun, Quebec, president, and Bill N. Taylor, Port Arthur, Texas, H. A. Yancey, Greensboro, North Carolina, and E. M. Shafter, Royal Oak, Michigan, vice-presidents.

Toronto Institutes Study of Departmental Consolidation

The Board of Control of the city of Toronto, Ontario, has established an advisory committee of six members to study and report on the question of amalgamation of the city's departments and services. The committee

has been asked to study the entire governmental service of the city and to make recommendations for more efficient and economical functioning thereof, including the possibilities of consolidation. The committee is headed by William J. Stewart, former mayor and present speaker of the Assembly, three other former city officials, the president of the Toronto District Labor Council and the managing director of the Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.

Civil Service Progress in Louisiana Cities

The Louisiana legislature has adopted laws to establish the merit system in Alexandria and Bogalusa, including city employees other than police and firemen, who are already covered. A five-man civil service commission in each city will be in control of the system. Alexandria will have a director of personnel as administrator. In Bogalusa one of the elected commissioners will act as secretary.

The legislature also provided for the appointment by the State Civil Service Commission from an eligible list of a state examiner for the existing police and fire civil service commissions in eight Louisiana cities, this examiner to be independent of the Department of State Civil Service.

The New Orleans Department of Civil Service has initiated an in-service training program to prepare city employees for higher jobs.

American Bar Association Examines Merit System

The special committee on civil service of the American Bar Association has reported plans for a comprehensive survey of the operation of the merit system, according to the Civil Service Assembly. It is expected to result in recommendations for strengthening the system in national, state and local government.

Researcher's Digest

**Cost of Living
Salary Plans Analyzed*****Study Outlines Provisions
for Adoption in Detroit***

COST-of-Living Salary Adjustment Plans for Municipal Employees, by J. M. Leonard and Rosina Mohaupt, issued by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, is a comprehensive and authoritative reference on cost-of-living salary plans. The present report—a revision and enlargement of an earlier one—contains a review and analysis of typical plans in operation, and puts forth a recommended plan.

St. Paul was the pioneer in the field, adopting the system in 1922. Its plan has therefore withstood the prosperous twenties and the depression of the thirties. Recently many other cities have adopted the plan of adjusting salaries of employees to a cost-of-living index. In addition to St. Paul, the report reviews the plans of Milwaukee, Columbus, Portland (Oregon) and Duluth. The plans of five smaller cities are also examined as well as industrial and the Canadian Dominion Plans.

The features deemed most reasonable and practical of the several systems are gathered together and presented as a recommended plan. Its basic features and its details are explained, and reasons given for supporting the proposal.

***Maryland State and Local
Government Relations Studied***

A new booklet, *Certain Aspects of State and Local Government Relationships in Maryland*, by the staff of the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore**, contains a striking analysis of representation in

the state legislature, the relation of assessed to real value of real estate, state revenues and state aid. Although some of these subjects seem far apart, all influence the relation of urban and rural elements in the state.

The booklet makes the not uncommon finding that the urban population is grossly under-represented in both houses of the state legislature. In Maryland an amendment of the constitution is necessary to correct this situation.

Average assessed value of real estate in Maryland ranges from 67 per cent of real value in two counties to 100 per cent in Baltimore City. This results in considerable inequity since the state obtains part of its revenue from a tax on real estate.

Finally, an analysis of the ratio of state aid received to state revenue contributed results in the finding that the more populous counties and Baltimore City contribute much more than they receive, while the less populous counties receive much more than they contribute.

***Cooperation on
Personnel Problems***

Intergovernmental cooperation is coming to be recognized more and more as an effective method of increasing governmental efficiency and bettering standards. One of the counties most alive to its possibilities is Los Angeles County, California.

In Judith N. Jamison's *Intergovernmental Cooperation in Public Personnel Administration in the Los Angeles Area*, the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the University of California at Los Angeles** has published a timely and challenging study. It illustrates well what voluntary cooperation can accomplish, given a chance.

Through the Los Angeles County Contract Services, the cooperative per-

sonnel services of the state of California, and the State Employees' Retirement System, the local governments in the Los Angeles County area have progressed rapidly toward universal acceptance of the merit system, even by the smaller municipalities. It is well recognized that smaller units of government cannot afford their own competent personnel agency. By the methods in use in Los Angeles County smaller municipalities can by contract secure the services of qualified personnel officers at nominal expense and many larger municipalities have found the new devices helpful too.

Indiana Bureau Investigates Water and Sewerage Problems

A study by John E. Stoner and Pressly S. Sikes, of the **Bureau of Government Research, Indiana University**, and the Division of Environmental Sanitation of the Indiana State Board of Health, of *Water and Sewerage Systems in Indiana*, discusses the planning of future construction now.

The authors cover a wide range of subjects, including reasons for water works and sewerage improvements, water supply problems, the need for sewers and sewage treatment plants, the financial capacity of municipalities, legal methods of raising funds, how to start a project, legal background, constitutional limitation on debts, and restrictions on the power to tax.

A long appendix is included, giving statistical data on municipal water and sewerage systems in Indiana.

Potpourri

County Government

Six consecutive issues of *Just A Moment*, published by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, have been devoted to a description of the governmental structure of Erie County. In-

cluded is a listing of the methods by which the county may reorganize and modernize its government, with comment on attempts which have already been made but failed. "Three cities, 25 towns, 16 incorporated villages, 200-odd school districts, and a general county government to serve a community of less than a million souls," comments the Bureau, "suggests the need of simplification which one day may be demanded."

* * *

Police

The **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** has issued two bulletins on police: "Crime Statistics and Police Forces in the 25 Largest U. S. Cities," demonstrates that Milwaukee "has consistently had one of the very best records as to freedom from crime and few traffic accident deaths"; "Support the Police Chief's Request for One-Man Patrol Cars" discusses the degree of motorization of police departments in the 25 leading cities, showing that Milwaukee's police are among the "least motorized."

Rochester's police pension fund is discussed by the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** in several issues of its monthly bulletin.

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Assessments

"Assessed Valuation of Real Estate Compared to Sale Price in St. Louis City" and "The Failure to Equalize Property Valuations Among Missouri Counties" are the subjects of two numbers of *Mind Your Business*, issued by the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute**.

* * *

Finance

A 24-page pamphlet on the *Finances of the City of New Haven 1920-1943* has been published by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council**. In stating the need for such a comparative study

the Council says: "For the citizens to appraise intelligently they must have an understanding of the present situation in relation to past financial transactions. If such information is presented in simple terms its usefulness is multiplied."

"Providence Needs a Postwar Financial Program," says the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau**. "The city has achieved a financial stability that presents the first real opportunity in several years to develop a sound long-range fiscal program" but "it is a demonstrable fact that barring unforeseen developments Providence in the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1945, will again be faced with the necessity of bridging a considerable gap between revenues and expenditures." The Bureau discusses past financial problems leading to present conditions. It lists various sources of revenue which might be used by the city to supplement the general property tax—income tax, service charges, parking meters. With due allowance for reasonable economies, the Bureau finds, the balancing of the 1945-46 and subsequent budgets will require additional revenues of approximately a million dollars.

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Budgets

"A personally conducted tour through the 1944 budget" is what the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research** terms its "Functional Analysis of the Current Document—What the Taxpayer Gets for the Taxes He Pays."

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Salaries

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations** has published a 32-page statistical booklet entitled *Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts*. It contains not only detailed figures by municipalities, but also figures on average salaries and recent salary adjustments.

Research Bureau Reports Received

Assessment

Assessed Valuation of Real Estate Compared to Sale Price in St. Louis City. To Equalize Property Valuations Among Missouri Counties. St. Louis, Governmental Research Institute, *Mind Your Business*, July 11 and September 19, 1944. 8 and 4 pp. respectively.

Personnel

Intergovernmental Cooperation in Public Personnel Administration in the Los Angeles Area. By Judith Norvell Jamison. Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, University of California, 1944. x, 107 pp.

Police

Crime Statistics and Police Forces in the 25 Largest U. S. Cities. Support the Police Chief's Request for One-man Patrol Cars! Milwaukee, Citizens Bureau, *Bulletin*, September 9 and 23, 1944. 3 and 2 pp. respectively.

Police and Firemen's Pensions. Buffalo 2, Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment*, October 5, 1944. 4 pp.

Rochester's Police Pension Fund, Its Beginning. Rochester's Police Pension Fund, Its Development. Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Monthly Bulletin*, July and August, 1944. 1 page each.

Salaries

Cost-of-Living Salary Adjustment Plans for Municipal Employees. By J. M. Leonard and Rosina Mohaupt. Detroit 26, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, 1944. iii, 42 pp. 50 cents.

The Ever Present Salary and Wage Problem. Salaries and Wages Should be Fixed at Budget Making Time. Cleveland, Citizens League, *Greater Cleveland*, October 5, 1944. 3 pp.

Municipal Salaries in Massachusetts 1943. Boston, Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, 1944. 32 pp.

State-Local Relations

Certain Aspects of State and Local Government Relations in Maryland. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., 1944. 24 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Finances of the City of New Haven 1920-1943. New Haven 10, New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc., 1944. 24 pp.

Postwar Improvement Program Financing. Postwar Financing in Other Cities. San Francisco 4, San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, *News Bulletin*, October 3 and 10, 1944. 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

Providence Needs A Postwar Financial Program. Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, 1944. 8 pp.

What the Taxpayer Gets for the Taxes He Pays. A Personally Conducted Tour Through the 1944 Budget. Functional Analysis of the Current Document. Rochester, Bureau of Municipal Research, 1944. 4 pp.

Voting

From ½ to 2/3 of Maryland Citizens Do Not Vote. Baltimore, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, Inc., *Your Tax Dollar*, August 25, 1944. 6 pp.

Water and Sewerage

Water and Sewerage Systems in Indiana. The Planning of Future Construction Now. By John E. Stoner and Pressly S. Sikes. Bloomington, Bureau of Government Research, Department of Government, Indiana University, and Indianapolis 7, Division of Environmental Sanitation, Indiana State Board of Health, 1944. 97 pp.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Toledo Voters Inspect Their City

County, City, Schools Surveyed by Committee

RECOMMENDATIONS of the Municipal League of Toledo, based on a 1941 survey, that the Lucas County Hospital be reorganized on a more business-like basis are bearing fruit. At the end of the year 1943, when the hospital had been operating under a reorganization plan for only seven months, the hospital books showed a cash surplus—after payment of bills for previous purchases and for materials purchased and stored for use beyond the instant fiscal period—of \$11,838.

Not only has the financial picture improved greatly, but also the efficiency of the hospital. "The care and treatment of the indigent sick is no longer a source of conflict between the officials of Lucas County and the city of Toledo," reports the Municipal League. "Salaries of hospital employees have been revised upward to conform with present-day levels; food standards have been raised; quicker, more modern, more efficient, and therefore better care and treatment have been afforded patients—yet costs per day per patient have been held to \$4; and for the first time the Lucas County General Hospital is self-supporting."

Under the reorganization plan state money has been made available for hospitalization with a resultant decrease in the hospital's demand on county and municipal tax revenues. The amount of the savings to these local units has not been tallied as yet

but officials of both the county and the city inform the League that savings will be appreciable.

The newly organized **Committee of Forty**, with which the Municipal League is closely affiliated, has undertaken an over-all survey of the current and postwar financial problems of Lucas County, the city of Toledo and the Toledo School District. Frank H. Adams is chairman.

The Committee represents a good cross-section of the various interests actively supporting good government in the Toledo area. It has been subdivided into various subcommittees: operations, debt service, capital outlay, methods of financing and research. The general chairman and subcommittee chairmen make up the executive committee.

All subcommittees are now functioning and already several preliminary reports have been prepared. It is hoped that these reports, after coordination by the executive committee, will be released through a publicity chairman about the first of the year.

Here and There

County Home Rule

About 550 members of the **Detroit Citizens League** circulated petitions to put the county home rule amendment for Wayne County on the November 7 ballot. All told, they secured over 11,000 signatures of registered voters. The League asks all voters to read the county home rule measure as published in Detroit newspapers in order to counteract the campaign of misrepresentation conducted by its political opponents.

The *Oregon Voter* urges its readers to support the constitutional amendment in that state to authorize counties to adopt the manager form of government by popular vote. The

Oregon League of Women Voters, one of the prime movers in placing the amendment on the ballot, is campaigning vigorously for its adoption.

* * *

War Veterans' Return

The **Portland (Oregon) City Club** has devoted several luncheon meetings to problems of service men and women after the war and legislation to benefit the returning war veteran. One meeting presented a panel discussion with representatives of Disabled American Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, the American Legion, American Red Cross, and the Oregon War Veterans Service Committee taking part. Two state veteran measures on the November 7 ballot in Oregon are being studied by City Club committees.

* * *

With the Women Voters

Action, a new monthly publication of the **National League of Women Voters**, made its bow to members of the 550 local leagues throughout the country, numbering about 50,000, in October. Contributors to the first issue include Anna Lord Strauss, national League president, and Malvina Lindsay, Washington columnist.

The National Board of the League has sent out to state groups a series of suggestions on how to bring the importance of voting home to the voters. Among the suggestions are: a speakers' bureau; public forums; neighborhood discussions; flyers for distribution in factories, business houses, organizations, etc.; seeking the cooperation of newspapers, street car companies, radio stations, advertisers, stores with display windows, movie houses; setting up of pre-election information booths, asking schools to have teachers remind their pupils of the importance of their parents' voting. Last but not least, walking up and down the busy streets at

the lunch hour on November 7 wearing a sign: "I have voted, have you?"

In urging its members to "ring doorbells" in its pre-election work this year, Elizabeth Nay, writing in the *Illinois Voter* (published by the **Illinois League of Women Voters**) comments on the campaign work of other groups. "As League members," says Miss Nay, "we will be watching with interest to see the effectiveness of their methods. In the meantime we are glad our concern with government and the citizens' role in it is shared by so many diverse groups.

"Surely Mr. and Mrs. Citizen are going to be reached as never before, and if traffic policemen are needed to regulate the door-bell ringing hordes, so much the better. It might be good practice for League workers to get there 'fustest' and with the 'mostest.'"

* * *

Annual Legislative Sessions

Taxtalk, organ of the **Massachusetts Taxpayers Association**, asks a "big no vote" on a proposed constitutional amendment to return to annual legislative sessions in that state. First move for biennial sessions was made in December 1933 when initiative petitions failed of acceptance by the legislature. Several additional attempts also failed to meet the legislative hurdle, until the 1935 and 1936 General Courts (legislatures) passed the amendment and placed it on the 1938 state election ballot. It was adopted by a 748,000 to 417,000 popular vote.

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The Schools Surveyed

More than 6,500 questionnaires have been mailed by the **Seattle Municipal League** to Seattle parents seeking to measure their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their children's education. Opinions are also being secured from persons who now employ recent graduates of Seattle schools. Both groups

have been asked whether they are satisfied with the results of training now being given by the schools in writing, spelling, grammar, reading, mathematics and United States history. The League's Committee on Public Schools will study the questionnaires in order to measure public opinion on the service Seattle schools are rendering.

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City Planning

Citizen groups of **Highland Park, Michigan**, are asking immediate improvement in parked street entrances and playgrounds. The committees are recommending acquisition and improvement of a number of residential areas.

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"Symbols and Shrines"

"Symbols and Shrines" is the slogan of the **Vermont State Chamber of Commerce** in its campaign for war memorials which actually record for future generations the story of the war and the heroism of those playing a part in it. "A community convenience labeled 'War Memorial' cannot be a genuine war memorial," says James P. Taylor, secretary of the Chamber, in a letter to the *New York Herald Tribune*, "unless associated with it is a symbol or a shrine that tells a story, dramatizes an idea, rouses an emotion, immortalizes a personal influence."

* * *

City Manager

The four **Kiwanis Clubs of San Diego, California**, have adopted resolutions opposing "any charter changes that would take away any authority or eliminate any function of the city manager." The four clubs represent San Diego, East San Diego, Ocean Beach and La Jolla.

* * *

Local Finance

Visualizing Debts and Taxes is the title of a bulletin of the **Chicago Civic**

Federation. Covered are the six Chicago governments—Cook County, city of Chicago, Board of Education and the Sanitary, Park and Forest Preserve Districts. The bulletin outlines graphically much of the data contained in the Federation's *Debts—Taxes—Assessments*. Charts cover for a varying period of years the general property tax, gross bonded debt, assessments and bonded debt of Chicago, comparative margins of borrowing power, trend of unpaid tax bills, anticipation tax warrants, uncollected taxes, comparative tax rates, etc. A pie chart shows how the 1943 property tax dollar within the city of Chicago was spent.

The Utah Taxpayers Association has published a comparison of property tax levies for 1943 and 1944 for the state, counties, schools, cities and towns.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Charles Edison, until recently Governor of New Jersey, is campaigning actively for adoption of the proposed New Jersey state constitution, speaking almost daily in its behalf. During his term in office constitutional revision was one of Governor Edison's chief objectives.

The Chicago City Club has elected **William H. Haight**, well known Chicago attorney and a member of the club since 1919, as its president. Mr. Haight succeeds Herman L. Ellsworth, president for the past four years. Mr. Haight has served on various committees of the Club and since 1936 has been a member of the Board of Governors.

The Detroit Citizens League has announced the election of **Christian H. Hecker** as its president for the forthcoming year. Mr. Hecker, succeeding David H. Barnett who served as president four years, was previously a member of the Executive Board and has served on the League's Committee on Candidates and Questions.

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Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)*

Should P. R. Be Used for Elections in Italy?

Advantages Cited for New Democratic Governments

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following letter appeared in the *New York Times* of September 1 and was reprinted in full by the *Ottawa Citizen*, whose editor, William M. Southam, sent it with a *Citizen* editorial favoring P. R. for Canada to every member of the Canadian Parliament.

To the Editor of the *New York Times*:

Your editorial of August 20 "To Make Democracy Strong" appears to accept the totally unproved theory, which has gained some credence in this country, that proportional representation was at least partly responsible for Mussolini and Hitler and tends in general to a multiplication of parties and a parliamentary ineptitude which paves the way for popular disgust and dictatorship.

That no such general charge can be fairly leveled at P. R. is demonstrated by the fact that Switzerland, Eire, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium and Czechoslovakia have all used forms of P. R. for their national parliaments for periods ranging from eighteen to forty years and still have it except for the temporary interruption of Nazi occupation in some of them. These are all among the most successful democracies in the world.

France, which is usually cited as a prize example of bloc government, never had P. R. and was in the process of adopting it when the Nazis walked

in. The Chamber of Deputies had accepted it but the Senate had not yet acted.

Democracy Not Weakened

If you compare the success and stability of government in Ireland and Sweden, for example, both of which now have one party in an absolute majority under P. R. and get along very well even when there is no such majority, with the difficulties of government in France and Spain without P. R., it is clear that P. R. cannot be charged with any general tendency to make democracy weak.

But let us not avoid the worst examples. Italy and Germany did have forms of P. R. before their dictators took over. You say that P. R. in Italy and Germany "shattered the electorate and the legislature into a multitude of parties and factions of bitter extremists who would have had no real chance of getting into power under the majority-voting system and the two-party system." Is this charge justified by the facts?

Neither Italy nor Germany ever had the two-party system, though both had the majority-voting system for a considerable period before P. R. came in. Both had a multiplicity of parties before P. R. and P. R. did not materially affect the number of parties with substantial representation. To the extent that the many-party situation was responsible for their difficulties, it was not chargeable to P. R. P. R. merely gave the many parties equitable instead of distorted representation.

But other countries with many parties—Switzerland, the Netherlands and Denmark, for example—have fared very well in their democratic governments. It was not even the many-party system which caused the failure in Italy and Germany.

Absolved in Italy

Italy had P. R. in effect for only two

years, and most of the damage had been done before its arrival. The Italian Socialist party, disgusted with the political intrigues long experienced under the majority system, voted in 1919 against the advice of its own leaders to turn its back on parliamentary institutions and prepare for a proletarian revolution. The Socialist party was an important party in Italy, not created by P. R. This decision on its part prevented its elected representatives from taking their natural share of responsibility for providing Italy with a government and at the same time gave ammunition to Mussolini in arousing the people against the expected Socialist revolt.

In 1922, the year of the march on Rome, a majority of the Socialist deputies declared themselves ready, despite their instructions, to support a new cabinet to restore public peace, but it was then too late. Professor Salvemini, in his history of the Fascist dictatorship, says: "Had the Socialists taken their decision in July 1921 (one year earlier) they would probably have saved their country from the evils of military Fascist anarchy and free institutions from destruction."

In Germany there is evidence that even the defective form of P. R. there used saved the republic from overthrow by monarchist parties on more than one occasion before the rise of the Nazis and probably delayed the advent of Hitler by two elections by giving full representation to the smaller moderate parties of the center. No one who has noticed the Communist representation in France or the recent Socialist victory in Saskatchewan, for instance, can logically contend that the majority system would have kept the Nazi party from developing. Once it became the largest party, there is every reason to believe that the majority system would have exaggerated its representation.

Hitler's Strong-Arm Methods

Hitler never did win a majority under P. R. and got control of the Reichstag only by throwing out the Communist deputies with the aid of the more moderate Nationalists. Having thus achieved a fictitious majority, he proceeded to throw out everybody else, including the Nationalists. This is a striking illustration of the little-understood truth that the representation of all substantial minorities, even the most unpopular, is essential to majority rule. The Communists could not hope to impose communism by their minority votes, but they were an essential part of the majority against Nazi dictatorship.

Returning to Italy, the main subject of your editorial: just think what trouble there will be if the new Italy does not use some form of proportional representation. There are several large parties there, and no electoral system or other device can bring them down to two. Under the plurality system, with several parties contesting, the normal result will be for a majority in each district to fail to elect the persons they wanted. Furthermore, the total result will be an obvious distortion of electoral justice, with some one or two parties getting far more than their share and others being unfairly shut out. It was just such a situation which led to the civil war in Spain.

Switzerland's Case

When the Italian-speaking Canton of Ticino in Switzerland was torn by civil strife after an unfair election result in 1889, proportional representation was introduced as the remedy at the suggestion of the federal government. The Canton was pacified and P. R. gradually spread to the other cantons and then to the federal government itself. Would it not be better to give the new Italian democracy the benefit of a fair system to start with, rather than sub-

ject it to the quite unnecessary strains of electoral injustice?

A democratic government is as strong as its popular support. A government in which a majority of the people are not represented by deputies of their own choosing, a government which is regarded as a caricature of real popular desires, is bound to be weak, no matter how controlling a majority it may have in the legislature. On the other hand, a government based on a legislature in which nearly everyone feels he is fairly represented is essentially strong, even if no one party is in a position to lay down the law to the rest.

The Reverend Canon Luce, professor of moral philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin, summed up the effect of P. R. in Ireland in these words:

"P. R. has been a healing force in our midst. Old political feuds are dying; public spirit is replacing faction. Our elections are well conducted. The voice of reason is heard, and the gun is silent. P. R. deserves much of the credit; for P. R. produces contented and loyal minorities, whereas the other system breeds muzzled, sullen, discontented minorities, predisposed to doctrines of violence. P. R. has been a unifying force, and unity is strength."

GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR., *Secretary*
Citizens Union of the City of New York.

From a Canadian Editorial

"It would be wiser . . . so [to] adjust our electoral system that all substantial shades of political thinking will be registered fully and justly in the House of Commons. The system in satisfactory operation in Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton for the last twenty years for provincial elections should be adopted for the coming federal elections—P. R. with the single transferable vote in multi-member constituencies." *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, September 4, 1944.

County and Township*Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck***Warwick County
Adopts Manager Plan****Popular Vote on Virginia
Optional Form Successful**

ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1944, by a vote of 1389 to 902, Warwick County, Virginia, became the ninth manager county in the United States and the fourth in Virginia. The voters approved the "county manager" optional form of county organization as provided by the legislature in a 1932 statute; previously Henrico County had been the only one in Virginia to organize under this provision.

Four principal changes were made by adoption of the new form of government:

(1) The three members of the Board of Supervisors will be elected on a county-wide basis but one must reside in each of the three districts. Under the old system the voters of each district elected one supervisor and, as the two upper districts, which contain less than 20 per cent of the voters of the county, elected two of the three supervisors, they controlled the county government.

(2) A county manager is to be appointed by the Board of Supervisors to serve at its will. He will devote his entire time to managing the affairs of the county and will be responsible for the efficient operation of county departments. Departments—finance, welfare, law enforcement, public works, records, and health—may be combined or eliminated as required to suit the needs of the county; the manager may also serve as head of one or more departments. The manager is to appoint

department heads and subordinate officers.

(3) The former elective offices of treasurer and commissioner of revenue will be combined into one finance department under the manager; its head will be appointive.

(4) The school board will be appointed by and serve at the will of the supervisors.

Formerly the departments of law enforcement, welfare, and education were controlled through direct or indirect appointments by the circuit judge. Three officers in addition to the supervisors will continue to be elected: sheriff, clerk of courts, and commonwealth attorney.

Savings Anticipated

It is expected that the new plan will cost less than the old. Savings of about \$23,000 resulting from elimination of the offices of treasurer and commissioner of revenue will more than cover the cost of the manager and the new department of finance. Other savings are anticipated from centralized purchasing for all departments, taking advantage of discounts, efficient and economical management, etc.

Warwick County has had a tremendous increase in population in the last few years as a result of wartime industry in and around Newport News. For many decades it has been boss-ridden, the political dynasty going back to the nineteenth century.

E. W. W.

**Beaver County, Pa.,
Plans for Tomorrow**

Beaver County, Pennsylvania, commissioners recently received a comprehensive postwar planning report as a result of an exhaustive physical, sociological and economic survey of the county authorized by the county commissioners approximately six months ago. The program that is recommend-

ed calls for public and private expenditure of more than \$50,000,000 providing 3,000,000 man-days of employment over a five-year period.

Beaver County is the third largest industrial producer in Pennsylvania and has an assessed valuation of \$100,000,000. It is proposed that the \$52,000,000 be secured from the following sources: Private housing and industrial expansion, \$18,600,000; state of Pennsylvania, \$15,500,000; federal government, \$7,800,000; local units in the county, \$5,000,000; the county, \$2,800,000; miscellaneous sources account for the remainder.

It is estimated that there will be 13,000 persons seeking employment in the county at the end of the war. The county will be in a position to offer many acres of available land not being used at present and tremendous industrial equipment much of which is now idle. The public works proposed by the report include construction of nine airports, reforestation and soil erosion control of 49,000 acres, erection of miles of flood control dikes, levees and walls, establishment of three parks, the building of seven swimming pools, highway and bridge improvement, housing, water supply, and sanitation including sewage disposal and elimination of stream pollution.

Colorado City and County Establish Joint Health Unit

Las Animas County and Trinidad, Colorado, have agreed to establish a complete county-city health unit to be financed by city, county and state funds. Its staff will include a public health physician, a sanitarian, seven nurses, and the necessary clerical staff. A modern health center building will be constructed as soon as possible.

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Pennsylvania Township Commissioners Meet

The Pennsylvania State Association of Township Commissioners has held its 1944 annual convention at which were discussed problems of municipal surcharges, postwar planning, and other phases of the progress of township government in Pennsylvania. Several members of the Association were presented meritorious awards for their contributions in the field of local government.

Addresses delivered at the convention have been published by the Pennsylvania Government Administration Service in a pamphlet entitled *Pennsylvania Township Government—Problems and Progress*. Also included in the pamphlet is an official roster of the 1944 township officials.

County Employees Decrease but Payrolls Rise

The number of county government employees,¹ estimated at 323,000 in July 1944, suggests that the downward trend in the number of county non-school employees since 1940 has been arrested. A decrease was apparent in the last prewar year of 1941, but the important diminution was in the first war year of 1942. The lower level of county employment in 1943 is being repeated in 1944.

In contrast county payrolls are continuing to rise. The estimated payroll of \$38,900,000 for the month of July 1944 was 16 per cent higher than the payroll for the corresponding months of 1940

¹Excludes school employees in Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee—the only states in which the counties directly administer schools. Data are from the Bureau of the Census, "Public Employment in July 1944," *Government Employment*, vol. 5, no. 5, (preliminary).

and 1941. During the past year the rate of county pay increase has accelerated, the rise in the last year exceeding that during the entire four previous years.

County governments in July 1944 employed one-sixth of the estimated total of 1,935,000 state and local government nonschool personnel and paid one-sixth of the total payroll of \$250,000,000 for such employees.²

Over one-third of county nonschool employees in January 1944 were engaged in the county function designated "general control." Compensation of such employees constituted a slightly higher ratio to the total January payroll. As was to be expected, the proportion of both employees and payroll required by the general-control function was higher in the counties of smaller population than in the larger counties.

Despite the reduction in the number of highway employees because of wartime shortages of labor and materials, the highway function still required almost one-fourth of the total employees and total payrolls, making it the second most prominent county function. Third largest functional group was hospital personnel and payrolls.

Nearly two-fifths of all county employees were in the following six states, arranged in descending order of numbers of employees: California, Ohio, Texas, New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. California easily led the list of states having the largest county employment in April 1944. Its county employment was nearly twice that of the next highest state, Ohio.

Ranking all states, the New England group was at the bottom of the list, as would be expected in view of

the limited role played by the county in those states.

The foregoing data are derived mainly from the Census Bureau's report on *County Employment: 1944*, which states that this report is "one of a series of quarterly public employment reports and the first of an annual series relating to county employment. Two important changes in the separate reports on public employment of states, of cities, and of counties are being made, effective with the 1944 series: (1) Each of these reports will be issued annually—instead of quarterly as has been the practice in the past four years—but unpublished quarterly data will be available upon request; (2) the city and the county reports will present estimates of total city and total county employment, respectively, in addition to employment data of individual cities having populations over 10,000 and of individual counties having populations over 50,000. The county report will be for January, the state report for July, and the city report for October."

New Jersey Taxpayers Request Expenditure Reduction

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has announced that the state's taxpayers must raise nearly a million dollars more for their county governments this year than they did in 1942. It points out that the over-all operating cost has increased 9.62 per cent in the two-year period, and it recommends that county officials take steps immediately to decrease these costs. "By controlled and economical spending for operating expenses, county governments will be enabled to decrease the amounts to be raised by taxation," says the Association bulletin.

²Loc. cit. table 1.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Market for Municipal Bonds Softening***Important New Issues Have Been Marked Down in Price***

AS MORE and more local units work out their plans to finance their postwar improvement programs, and an increasing number actually come on the market to sell bond issues in advance of the need for cash, it is timely for local officials and citizens interested in local finance to take note of the recent "softening" tendency in the municipal bond market. It may well be that the recent period when local units could sell their obligations at peak prices is just about over, at least until actual postwar readjustments are under way and the overall needs and capacities of the postwar money market are clarified.

The trend is shown in the index of municipal bond yields compiled by *The Bond Buyer*. The lower the yield, of course, the higher the bond price and, conversely, the higher the yield, the lower the price. The index for twenty representative issues moved steadily down, from 1.77 per cent on January 1, 1944, to 1.59 per cent on August 1, indicating a more or less steady upward movement of prices. The index for September 1, however, was unchanged from August 1, at 1.59 per cent, and for October 1 it rose to 1.66 per cent, bringing prices back to the March level. The index for eleven high grade bonds has shown more fluctuations, falling from 1.44 per cent on January 1 to 1.31 per cent on both March 1 and April 1, and rising to 1.35 per cent May 1. June and July saw respectively a downward and up-

ward movement, but the year's low was reached August 1 at 1.30 per cent and the September 1 index was also 1.30 per cent. For October 1, however, the yield index moved up to 1.36 per cent, or approximately to the price level prevailing at the beginning of February.

It may be noted that the trend upward in interest cost has not yet greatly affected sale of new obligations by the local units, but it is becoming more of a factor. Dealers are encountering slowness in disposing of the bonds they have purchased from municipalities at recent high prices, and several important new issues have been marked down in price in recent weeks, injecting an element of uncertainty which it will take only time to have reflected in the prices paid to local units directly.

The chief factor in the change now occurring is, of course, the federal government's wartime requirements for funds. The municipal market was for a considerable period greatly stimulated by federal necessities, since rising personal income and corporate tax rates made municipals exceedingly valuable to higher-bracket taxpayers who were willing to pay high prices for tax-exempt securities.

At the same time, institutional holders, especially insurance companies to whom the tax exemption feature means little or nothing, found it advantageous to dispose of the municipals in their portfolios. Thus, for a time, the market was active, despite a dearth of new issues by the local units, and such new issues as were put out by the cities, counties, etc., benefited greatly by the high price structure.

More recently, however, the market has begun to feel the effects of withdrawal of the insurance companies from the field as large-scale purchasers of municipals, and at the same time

commercial banks have had to take mostly short-term municipals while the savings banks are restricting their purchases almost entirely to U. S. obligations. As the takings of the higher-bracket taxpayers able to pay extremely high prices for the tax-exemption feature grow smaller and smaller, the price structure for municipals will decline closer and closer to the level at which the institutional purchasers can afford to take municipal obligations, and consequently it is felt that the peak of local bond prices is probably past, at least as far as the war boom is concerned.

Classify Four Billions for Postwar Programs

Over \$850,000,000 of plans for postwar engineering construction were initiated or carried to completion in the two months ending September 8, 1944, bringing the total tabulated to just short of \$4,000,000,000, according to the recent report of the Committee on Postwar Construction of the American Society of Civil Engineers. To July 7, 1944, the total had been \$3,147,640,000¹ and two months later it

¹See the REVIEW for September 1944, p. 429.

POSTWAR CONSTRUCTION PLANS UNDER WAY OR COMPLETED^a
(AMOUNTS IN MILLIONS)

	Public	Private	Total	
New York	\$810.9	\$80.8	\$891.7	22.3%
California	502.3	6.6	508.9	12.8
Ohio	410.1	7.9	418.0	10.4
Texas	364.9	52.6	417.5	10.4
Michigan	231.5	7.0	238.5	6.0
Pennsylvania	160.3	21.8	182.1	4.5
Washington	108.6	4.0	112.6	2.8
Indiana	100.7	9.0	109.7	2.8
New Jersey	99.3	6.2	105.5	2.6
Maryland	88.1	8.8	96.9	2.4
Ten leaders	\$2,876.7	\$204.7	\$3,081.4	77.0%
All other	840.2	77.1	917.3	23.0
	\$3,716.9	\$281.8	\$3,998.7	100.0%

^aDerived from data compiled by *Engineering News-Record* for the American Society of Civil Engineers as of September 18, 1944.

was \$3,998,700,000, according to data reported to the Committee by *Engineering News-Record*.

The Committee has set a goal of \$15,000,000,000 construction to be in the plan-completed stage by July 1, 1945, and in total the program is now about 30 per cent completed. The Committee's quota is divided \$5,000,000,000 for public works and \$10,000,000,000 for privately financed construction, but the privately financed portion is lagging badly, with plans for construction totaling only \$281,836,000 reported as compared with \$3,716,948,000 in the public works classification.

Actually, ten states account for slightly more than three-fourths of the total reported. Thirty-three states account for the remainder, and nothing is reported for five states. The table summarizes the reported figures (in millions of dollars) for the ten leaders.

It may be noted that the two leaders, New York and California, and two others among the first ten, Michigan and New Jersey, are states which have provided for state assistance to local units in preparing plans for postwar construction. New York in 1943 provided \$3,000,000 to be used on a matching basis, while early this year

California appropriated \$7,000,000 to be used for plans and \$3,000,000 to be used to purchase sites. Michigan appropriated \$5,000,000 to pay planning costs on a matching basis, and New Jersey provided \$500,000, also for plans.

Debt Free Cities Celebrate

Publicity has recently been accorded two cities for reaching a "debt free" status. Oglesby, Illinois, attracted considerable attention early in September by holding a community picnic to celebrate retirement of the last of its city bonds; while Lansing, Michigan, has reached a stage where it has no net debt, outstanding obligations being covered by funds sufficient for their repayment without further accumulations.

The performance of these two cities is matched by the accomplishments of two counties which, so far as is known, made no particular fuss about their debt-free status. Salt Lake County, Utah, paid off earlier in the year the last of its bonds, a final \$100,000 on an issue of 1919 highway obligations, while during the summer Pierce County, Washington, reached a point where interest and redemption funds sufficed to meet all remaining principal and interest payments on its bonds.

Tax on Utilities to Finance Public Works

Voters of West Palm Beach, Florida, have approved a 10 per cent tax on local utility services to help finance a seven-year \$1,688,000 postwar improvement and maintenance program. The tax applies to sales of electric, gas, water and telephone service and will bring in \$175,000 a year.

The tax will be added to monthly utility bills—10 per cent on each bill up to \$25, 5 per cent on the next \$50 and 1 per cent on any charge over \$75. It is estimated each family will pay

from 75 cents to \$1.50 a month.

Utility companies are required to collect the tax with bills for service; any company failing to do so is liable for the amount due. Any consumer failing or refusing to pay the tax may be fined not more than \$100 or jailed for a maximum of ten days or both. Utility companies must keep complete records for inspection by the city and turn tax revenues over to the city every month to be credited to the general municipal fund.

Included in a postwar plan, also approved by the voters, were a schedule of specific projects to be undertaken, estimated total seven-year cost of each, average cost per year, proposed expenditures for the first two years after the war and annual recurring additions to the budget as a result of extended service.

Improvements planned are prevention of lake pollution; reconstruction of some sewers and incinerators; repair and extension of streets, sidewalks and sea walls; replacement of equipment for the fire, police, health and public works departments; construction of a two-story fire station and codification of city ordinances.

Estimates show the city probably will spend \$558,000 for postwar projects the first two years after the war, according to the International City Managers' Association. During this period the utility tax of \$175,000 a year will be supplemented by \$208,000 the city accumulated as a result of abnormal tax collections and curtailed operations in recent years.

The seven-year program will be financed from current revenues, and the city commission will review the program annually. The city manager, the city planning board and department heads will make studies and prepare a schedule of priorities for each succeeding year, the association said.

Local Affairs Abroad*Edited by Edward W. Weidner***Planning and Land Use Control in England*****Proposed Act, White Paper Suggest Extensive Power for Local Authorities***

PROPOSALS for important readjustments in land-use control are contained in the Government's Town and Country Planning Bill and its White Paper on Control of Land Use issued last June. All landowners must obtain consent from the local planning agency before they can change the use of their land; and the local agency may, through compulsory purchase if necessary, direct the development or redevelopment of the land.

The White Paper contains the bulk of proposals for negative control, i.e., control seeking to prevent undesirable changes in land use, rural or urban.¹ Although development rights remain vested in the landowner, he may not exercise them until approval of the proposed land-use change is obtained from the local planning agency. It is proposed that the local agency have the responsibility of passing on such changes and of issuing licenses therefor subject to direction and control by the ministers.

Such control over private land results in losses or gains to the landowners, depending upon individual circumstances and the decisions made. To make the matter as equitable as possible, "betterment charges" and "compensation" are provided. Under the plan betterment charges will be imposed upon all landowners in the fu-

ture whenever permission is given to develop or redevelop the land. The charge will be 80 per cent of the increase, that is, 80 per cent of the difference between the value of the land with the benefit of permission and its value if permission had been refused.

Fair compensation for loss of development value existing on March 31, 1939, will be paid to owners of land which on that date had some development value if permission to develop the land is refused. Subject to arbitration in case of dispute, the assessment and payment of compensation and the assessment and collection of betterment charges will be centralized in a Land Commission responsible to ministers and through them to Parliament. It is believed that receipts of betterment charges will balance roughly the payments of fair compensation.

Both the Town and Country Planning Bill and the White Paper on Control of Land Use provide for positive land-use control, i.e., control which actually modifies or changes land use. The bill concerns itself primarily with two urban problems—blitzed and blighted areas.

For blitzed areas the bill provides that local planning authorities submit to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, within five years of the passage of the act, applications for the designation of war damaged areas needing replanning as a whole, indicating in broad terms their plans for redevelopment. If the minister approves, he is to issue an order making the land in question subject to compulsory purchase; a public local inquiry is to be held first if objections are lodged. In certain cases where the need for land is especially urgent, compulsory acquisition may be authorized although no area for redevelopment has been designated and no local inquiry need be held.

¹A change from one form of agriculture to another is not considered a change in land use.

The long-term provisions for blighted areas provide a similar land acquisition procedure except that there is no provision for an order by the Minister defining such an area as a whole. As a local authority desires to redevelop any particular area, it must apply to the Minister for his approval of an order for its compulsory purchase, and in every case there must be a public inquiry before approval is given.

Purchase of the land is expedited by a clause which provides that local authorities will no longer have to serve personal notices on every individual owner that powers of purchase are to be sought. Instead they will advertise in newspapers.

The bill stipulates that the value of all land acquired during the next five years, with the exception of smaller owner-occupier houses and farm land and buildings, is to be ascertained by reference to prices current on March 31, 1939. The cost of land acquisition—estimated to about £575,000,000 for war-damaged areas—will normally be met by local borrowing, and for blitzed area redevelopment national government grants equal to the loan charges for the first two years will be given, further grants depending upon local situations.

In most cases it is contemplated that the local planning authority will lease, not sell, the land in suitable plots for private development, subject to the consent of the Minister of Town and Country Planning.

Additional powers of positive land use planning are contained in the bill. Provision is made for compulsory acquisition of land by local authorities to enable them to secure industrial development, to provide clinics or social centers, or to provide accommodation for people or businesses driven by the war into unsatisfactory loca-

tions and likely to return to their former area to the detriment of its re-planning. The White Paper would provide a reserve power of compulsory purchase for use in exceptional cases where a landowner is unwilling to make available for development land which is required in the interests of good planning and could not otherwise be secured.

The local authority associations have issued a joint statement setting forth their objections to the bill. The bill is defective, it is claimed, because it does not give specific power to local planning authorities to buy land compulsorily for all public purposes. The associations claim the bill unduly complicates the procedure for compulsory acquisition of land because it does not provide for a uniform procedure in all cases. Finally, the statement criticises the proposed national grants as inadequate, and states that the method of determining the value of the land is faulty.

If these measures are passed by Parliament in substantially their present form, it will mean that local authorities in England have been given the most extensive powers over planning and land use that they have ever had.

Change in British Parliamentary Procedure

A change proposed by the government to alter the procedure of parliamentary review of ministerial orders affects local governments in England by altering one of their legal sources of powers.

Up to now two of the main legal sources of local powers besides general acts have been local acts and provisional orders. Local governments can, with the consent of the Minister of Health and proper notices to citizens and hearings, promote the passage of a local bill by Parliament giving the

locality certain special powers. In Parliament these bills are subject to "private bill procedure" characterized by an essentially judicial procedure at the committee stage, with counsels, witnesses, and testimony. On the other hand, local authorities can make application to the appropriate minister for a provisional order granting special power to the locality. Inquiries are held and the minister decides upon the application. Power to issue such orders is granted by several acts of Parliament, but the orders must eventually be approved by Parliament to become valid. However, provisional order confirmation bills are usually passed without opposition. Nevertheless, if challenged, the bills were never treated as government bills even though introduced by the respective ministers; and persons affected by the order had opportunity to petition against it.

The water and planning policies of the Government for the postwar period brought up the question of modifying this procedure, since numerous cases in which the rights of individuals were concerned would arise. Especially of concern are the utilities which have been authorized to supply certain public services by statute—e.g., railways, canal, dock and harbor authorities, electric, gas and water utilities. Under the proposed plans for postwar land-use planning and reorganization of many of these activities, individual rights of these statutory utilities would be involved in almost every reconstruction step taken.

It is felt by the government that neither the provisional order or local bill procedure is adequate because of the urgency for and comprehensiveness of action needed in the postwar period. Therefore it is proposed that the provisional order bill procedure be modified so that if the bill were challenged in Parliament, the bill would be regarded as a government measure and

it would have the protection of the government whips. Furthermore, persons affected by an order would have the right to petition against it and to be heard upon their petition. They would not be able to petition against the "main purpose" of the order, however, but only against specific details. Up to now, the majority of petitions have been against the main purpose of the order.

By this new method of parliamentary review of ministerial orders the government hopes to prevent development and redevelopment plans both national and local from being stalled in Parliament because of a slow and cumbersome procedure. Parliament will consider the "main purpose" of such orders while the individuals concerned are protected by the right to petition against its details. Some idea of the importance the government attaches to the proposal is gained by the Prime Minister's closing statement on the matter: "The government contemplate that the new system should in due course replace the present system of provisional order confirmation bills."

Units of Government in England

It was disclosed in the House of Commons recently that many revisions of the areas and boundaries of local authorities have been carried out under the Local Government Acts of 1929 and 1933 which provide for county review of such matters. As a result of review by county councils of the several districts within the counties 206 urban districts and 236 rural districts have been abolished, while 49 urban districts and 67 rural districts were created—a net decrease of 157 urban and 169 rural districts. Adjustments of the majority of county districts were also made.

Books in Review

Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER

TVA—Democracy on the March. By David E. Lilienthal. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1944. xvi, 248 pp. \$2.50.

The chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority has written a stimulating nontechnical account of the many aspects of the TVA. The book appropriately might have been entitled "Region-Building at the Grass Roots." It is a phrase that the author uses over and over again and that aptly describes the philosophy, purpose and technique of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Region-building at the grass roots requires conservation and democracy. True conservation means resource development governed by the unity of nature herself, while true democracy means "the people must participate actively in that development." A centralized regional authority is the *sine qua non* of the former, "a federal autonomous agency, with authority to make its decisions in the region" and with "responsibility to deal with resources, as a unified whole, clearly fixed in the regional agency, not divided among several centralized federal agencies."

In order to insure democracy the decentralization of this centralized authority is necessary, a policy "that the federal regional agency work cooperatively with and through local and state agencies." To carry out this policy, "whenever there is a state or local institution which can perform part of the task that has been assigned by law to the TVA, we have sought to have that non-federal agency do it." As a result, state and local governments in the Tennessee Valley are performing more functions and are stronger and more vigorous than they were ten years ago.

By such a unified approach to conservation, a healthy regionalism—as opposed to sectionalism—is being developed. The growth of state and local government in the area is an effective answer to those who put forth the hypothesis that the increased use of technicians is resulting in a "managerial revolution."

In describing the purposes, techniques, and accomplishments of the TVA, Mr. Lilienthal has given us much that is new. And his presentation of its underlying philosophy is unequalled.

E.W.W.

Veterans' Preference—A Challenge and an Opportunity. By Leonard D. White. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1944. 20 pp. 25 cents.

This is a timely discussion of a subject which is already looming as a post-war civil service problem. Professor White sees no great need for apprehension. "That difficult and perplexing problems are before us," he says, "cannot be doubted. It is, however, by no means certain that the public service needs to suffer. The greatest guarantee that it will *not* suffer lies in the ingenuity of personnel officers in making the most out of the rich human resources which the veterans collectively possess."

Planning for the Small American City. An Outline of Principles and Procedure Especially Applicable to the City of Fifty Thousand or Less. By Russell Van Nest Black. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1944. 86 pp. \$1.

When the first edition of this publication appeared in 1933 the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW said: "One of the

best dollar's worth ever made available in city planning literature." The statement holds true for the new and revised edition of 1944 which comes at a time when citizens and officials are seeking aid in formulating postwar plans for their cities. The monograph is written in simple, nontechnical language and emphasizes the need for citizen participation in planning. An adequate bibliography covering the numerous fields involved in planning completes the picture.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Aviation

Aviation and the States. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, 1944. 15 pp. 50 cents.

A Short Selected Bibliography on Airways and Airport Planning and Protection of Approaches, with Annotations. Chicago 37, American Society of Planning Officials, 1944. 25 cents.

Wichita's Airpark Plan. Wichita, Kansas, Chamber of Commerce, 1944. 8 pp. illus.

City Planning

Our Big Cities Today and Tomorrow. New York 4, *The Wall Street Journal*, 1944. 32 pp.

A Pattern for Charlotte. By Coleman W. Roberts. Charlotte, N. C., The Charlotte Planning Committee, 1944. iv, 63 pp.

Planning Cleveland in 1943. Annual Report of the Cleveland City Planning Commission. Cleveland, The Commission, 1944. 16 pp.

Planning Progress 1943. Report of Planning Activities in Kansas City in 1943 by the City Manager. Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1944. 14 pp.

A Post-War Public Works Program for the City of Homewood, Alabama.

By Polk, Powell and Hendon. Birmingham 3, Alabama, 1944. 36 pp. maps. (Apply to authors.)

Civil Liberties

In Defense of Our Liberties. New York 10, American Civil Liberties Union, 1944. 79 pp.

Civil Service

Efficiency Rating Manual. By United States Civil Service Commission, Personnel Classification Division. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 18 pp. 10 cents.

How to Plan an Employes' Suggestion System. By Ezra S. Taylor. Chicago, The Pullman Company, 1944. 14 pp.

Demobilization

Demobilization and Jobs. By Charles W. Eliot. Los Angeles, California, The Haynes Foundation, 1944. 12 pp.

Doing Right by the Serviceman. By Mabel L. Walker. New York 10, Tax Institute, 1944. 8 pp. 25 cents.

The Economics of Demobilization. By E. Jay Howenstein, Jr., with an introduction by Alvin H. Hansen. Washington 8, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. 336 pp. Cloth \$3.75, paper \$3.25.

Education

National Go-to-School Drive 1944-45. A Handbook for Communities Prepared by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944. 19 pp. 5 cents.

Problems Confronting Boards of Education. A Manual for Community Participation in Educational Planning. Albany, University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1944. 27 pp.

Together We Build a Community School. Glencoe, Illinois, Public Schools, 1944. 20 pp. illus.

Libraries

The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library. A Problem and Its Solution. By Fremont Rider. New York City, Hadham Press, 1944. xiii, 236 pp. \$4.

Postwar Planning

Full Employment—Its Politics and Economics. By Emerson P. Schmidt. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1944. 23 pp.

A New Jersey Program for the Post-War Period. First Report of the State Commission on Postwar Economic Welfare. Trenton, The Commission, 1944. viii, 141 pp.

A New Jersey Program for the Post-War Period, Legislative Supplement. Report of the State Commission on Post-War Economic Welfare. Trenton, The Commission, 1944. 31 pp.

Postwar Planning in the United States. An organization Directory (third edition). New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1944. xvii, 134 pp. \$1.

RISING TIDE OF PROGRESS

(Continued from page 513)

effort had been made because in the minds of those actively identified with the League's management the time had not arrived when such a step was deemed either wise or feasible. Publicists and students were not in a position to agree upon a statement of belief, mainly because they had not given to the general plans of the problem the necessary attention and study. Their particular experiences had been purely local.

The American people had been led by the educational work of the League, its conferences, and its published proceedings to a realization that there was an American municipi-

pal problem; that the question of good city government was something more than a merely local issue; that it was, perhaps, the most important single problem confronting the American people at that time.

Great activity along municipal reform lines has been manifested since the formation of the League. While it can scarcely be claimed that this has been entirely due to the League, nevertheless, in that the League has brought the whole question of good city government prominently before the people of the country through its annual conferences and its widely-distributed literature, it must be conceded to have exercised a potent, if at times indirect, influence in the civic renaissance.

When I retired from the secretaryship 25 years ago, I planned to write a history of the League, but I became so engrossed in my practice and public work that the opportunity never came. Now that I have the time I have not the strength, and so it goes. I wish it were physically possible for me to go through the volumes of *Proceedings* of which I was the editor and the early numbers of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW of which I was the first editor, to point out the highlights. They will have to speak for themselves, as they do.

To have been associated from its conception with this nation-wide effort to place American cities on a firmer and more honorable basis, to have been present at its birth, to have shared in its growth, was an opportunity such as can come to few men and for which I have always been deeply grateful.